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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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BERECZ DISCUSSES DOMESTIC SITUATION AT YEAR END

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 12, 1983 pp 12-26

[Article by Janos Berecz: "We Have an Answer, We Have a Program!"]

[Text] Those who are able and have had the opportunity to follow the development of today's--differentiated and in response to significant events fluctuating--Hungarian public opinion closely can clearly see that as we near the end of 1983 our people have also become increasingly filled with concern, a sense of danger and doubt regarding the future.

Concern can be damaging and devastating if it leads to indifference, passivity or to turning away or escaping from reality; however, it can also be a positive force if it strengthens our sense of reality and results in action. Being overtaken by a sense of danger may cause paralyzing and disarming reactions; however, it can also encourage us to exploit our possibilities and combine our forces. Having doubts may signal or indicate a disorganizing loss of perspective and direction; however, it can also play a constructive role inasmuch as it queries inexpedient schemes, thereby helping to develop more appropriate methods.

Moreover, in our country these consciousness factors are usually interspersed and modified by a kind of--what we might call--"national characteristic." Namely, by that certain often talked-about and experienced "small-country" mentality. Our country, the Hungarian People's Republic, of course is indeed a small country; its area and population constitute merely a fraction of our planet. It is true that our share of the world's material production, trade and creation of cultural values is somewhat greater, and that although on a modest scale our international prestige has been considerable as has the respect which we have earned with our policies and the results of our work. Even given all of this, however, we do not have a significant impact on the great determinant political and economic processes of the world the effects of which on the conditions of our existence and development, however, have been all the more profound.

These are facts. Recognizing and accepting them has become a vital aspect of our political realism. However, even in this respect we face two kinds of--positive and negative--possible consequences. If this "small-country" mentality becomes associated with a sense of complete vulnerability to the great processes of the world on which we have no effect at all then it may .

turn against us, causing self-injury and self-destruction. If, on the other hand, we are able to use it as a basis for gaining a better understanding of our place and role in the world, of our freedom of movement and possibilities of action and of those points of contact at which we can become a part of greater structures, then our acumen will help to enrich the resources of our own existence and development.

Our age--taken in its most comprehensive historical sense--is the age of transition from the capitalist to the socialist social system, the age of a long and danger-threatening transformation. It is the socialist system which represents and carries within it the future. Our country is one of the modest but respected members of this world system. The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are the guarantors of not only the society of the future, but by virtue of their might also of the universal interests of mankind, the safe-guarding of peace, the prevention of a thermonuclear world catastrophe and the preservation of human civilization and culture. In our age peace can only be ensured by agreements which reflect mutual interests and by a balance of power the key element of which is the presently existing military balance between the two world systems. All of our efforts have been and will continue to be aimed at ensuring that this balance is realized at the lowest possible level of armaments; the unfortunate fact that today the arms race is continuing to take on increasingly more dangerous dimensions is not our fault.

Only as a member of the socialist community can our country exert stronger influence than its international importance would warrant on the great processes of the world and contribute to the safeguarding of peace. This is why our socialist and internationalist commitments are so closely connected with the furthering of our national interests.

However, this is only one point of connection. In our country the rule of the working classes, the power of the people is strong; for more than a quarter of a century our conditions have been characterized by internal order, calmness and stability; the relationship between our people and our society's recognized leading force, the party has been based on mutual trust and on an active harmony of views. Looking at all of this from a different angle--aside from the fact that it may be one of our most treasured national values and achievements--we find that it also has considerable international significance. It means that not only have we not been the cause of tensions in the world, but we have actually been a factor of stability in the relationship between the two world systems as well as within the socialist community. Furthermore, by adding to the wide array of means by which socialist societies are built, and by taking the necessary initiative we have devised and are continuing to develop new methods for ourselves that are better suited to our potentials and characteristics, which under our conditions have proven to be successful and some of which may also attract the interest of others, since in the course of our continuous exchanges of ideas we mutually draw from each other's experiences. Hence, as we continue to develop our own economy and social conditions we also--to a modest extent--add to the strength of the socialist world community and increase the appeal of the socialist world order.

It is the socialist community which for us provides a firm foundation. At the same time, by necessity we have a thousand ties connecting us to the world economy as a whole and we continue consciously to develop our diverse system of political relationships with those non-socialist countries which on the basis of mutual advantages and showing proper respect for our social system are ready to cooperate with us. Our national interest in preserving and expanding this system of relationships is unquestionable; at the same time by developing these ties we are also making a modest but positive contribution to the cause of socialism and to the reduction of international tensions.

It is not our task here to give a detailed analysis of the causes behind the international tensions which today carry within them the danger of a world war, or behind the capitalist world economic crisis which has also brought trying times for our national economy; we cannot, however, proceed without at least giving a brief review of them.

The course of history is affected by various objective socio-economic laws. The evolving socialist society does not need to be--and in fact could not be--"spread" by way of expansionist policies and especially not by the use of arms. The sudden changes of history and the events of earlier beginnings of great new social eras all prove that it is always the old which does not want to recognize the objective driving forces of history, which stubbornly insist on retaining its positions, which tries to crush at its inception and suppress anything that is new, which resorts to irresponsible steps and which is ready to drag anyone else with it into destruction. In the present situation this "anyone else" may even be the entire world. The fact that the "ancien régime" is always aggressive by nature has been proven time and again by such events as the attack against the great French bourgeois revolution, the crushing of the 1848-1849 Hungarian revolution; the intervention against Soviet-Russia, the bloody suppression of the Hungarian Soviet Republic--and the list could go on. It was not the Soviet Union that had started World War II in which, albeit at the cost of enormous losses, it ended up scoring a glorious victory; it was not the Soviet Union that had begun military operations on the territories of Hitlerite Germany and its Eastern European satellites. It is not the Soviet Union that has continued ever since that time to incite armed confrontations in various regions of the world. Nor was it the Soviet Union that started the arms race--in every case it has merely taken countermeasures. Our struggle has been justifiable self-defense which has been forced upon us by the logic of things. The defense of peace and socialism has become one inseparable obligation--and our only choice.

For this emerging and unfolding, in historical terms young social order called socialism the most favorable "climate" is peace, peaceful coexistence and reduced tensions, because it is under these kinds of conditions that its possibilities, creative forces and advantages can best assert themselves. However, it is precisely for this reason why detente has been a thorn in the side of the enemies of socialism. Under socialism no one profits from the arms race, in fact it places a tremendous burden on the economy and on the people. On the other side, however, the arms build-up has made it possible for certain capitalist interest groups to realize enormous profits that have

dwarfed returns from all other types of investments. This interest has been the main driving force behind aggressive imperialist policies; not even risking the existence of mankind deters it from trying to attain it.

A multitude of old and recent historical experiences and the logic of things prove: all representations are false which claim to see "Moscow's hands" behind every anti-imperialist movement and event regardless where they may occur in the world, and which attempt to frighten peoples with the spector of "Soviet expansion," the "Red threat" and a "communist invasion." All of these are merely excuses which our enemies use to disguise their own aggressive ambitions. And this is why all views are false--or at best naive--that fail to see the substantive difference between the moral and political responsibility which the two opposing world powers bear for today's extremely strained international situation. The socialist world system is not an aggressive bloc but rather is a social community which is striving to bring prosperity and a peaceful future to mankind. This is what constitutes the basis of our alliance and loyal friendships, and this is why progressive mankind can have faith in the sincerity of socialist and specifically of Soviet policies.

The key to the international situation and the explanation for the tensions which today are perhaps even greater than at any time before are to be sought in the profound changes that have occurred in the political thinking of the ruling circles of the world's leading imperialist superpower, the United States. Starting from the recognition of the otherwise indisputable fact that reduced tensions, peaceful coexistence and the development of systems of interrelationships among countries of various social systems promote the trend of social progress, in other words benefit the development of socialism and the cause of anti-imperialist movements while reducing weapons industry profits--the most aggressive political forces of the United States have begun to systematically eliminate the achievements of detente. This is their immediate goal, but behind it one can distinctly see their long-term strategic notions. One such notion which can be clearly recognized is the anachronistic illusion of recovering the position of power which after the end of World War II the United States enjoyed around most of the world. One of their strategic goals is to hinder the development of the socialist social system and to prevent it from more fully asserting its strengths and advantages by forcing it to undertake the enormous economic burden of the arms race; to preserve its inherited and still not fully eliminated historical disadvantages; to fuel the operation of centrifugal forces within its alliance system--in sum, therefore, to stop and if possible turn back the wheels of history.

This to-the-core conservative and at the same time perilously aggressive imperialist strategy is coupled with certain devious and hazardous tactics which are undeterred by any potential risks. As one such tactic it would like, and so far has been able to shift much of the risks over to its allies. Naturally, even the Reagan administration understands that once it is started a possible thermonuclear confrontation could not be limited either in space or time; such a war could not be fought "somewhere far from America," let us say in Europe; moreover, such a war could never be fought at



all, for on this level words and concepts become meaningless. One thing that the stationing of Euro-missiles will accomplish, however, is that it will further increase the vulnerability of Europe as a whole. The socialist response is once again explicit and clear: negotiations used as a "screen" for the stationing of missiles must not and cannot be continued, and the socialist countries are taking measures to strengthen their defenses. Yiriy Andropov's statement also made it clear that the Reagan administration's policy that has put Europe in danger cannot help to strengthen the security of the United States, for the countermeasures that they will entail will also effect its own territory; at the same time, socialist diplomacy is increasing its activities in order to ensure that the fate of the world is determined by negotiations, agreements and cooperation and not on the basis of an unrestricted arms build-up.

Naturally, the government of the United States also understands--despite all of its hypocritical propaganda tactics and misleading pseudo-proposals--that there is an approximate balance of military power between the two superpowers and that this balance cannot be upset, for every step entails necessary countermeasures. The balance of power can only be reproduced--at a different level. We would like to establish it at lower levels of armaments hoping eventually to attain complete disarmament. The aggressive imperialist circles, however, are pushing this balance of power toward a "higher level" inasmuch as this term can even be considered appropriate to describe the immensely increased dangers, risks and economic burdens their actions have caused.

It has been parallel with the deterioration of international political conditions and not at all independent of American militaristic ambitions that the presently ongoing capitalist world economic crisis has begun to take form. Compared to the old, "classical" model of cyclic economic crises, the crisis of our times is of a different nature: it is a world-economic crisis of structure, regulations and institutions. Even the application of Keynesian bourgeois economics and the conscious economic intervention of capitalist states and groups of states could not prevent the outbreak of this gradually brewing crisis, the first sign of which was the oil-price explosion that occurred around the first third of the 1970s.

The consequences of the general recession are well known: stagnant production, slackening growth; rampant inflation combined in many countries with large-scale unemployment; bankruptcies and indebtedness in the developing countries which make up most of the world--and even in some developed capitalist countries.

Capitalist crises have always entailed a large-scale destruction of productive forces, while at the same time they have helped to "clear" and "open" the way for new waves of development, involving the most modern scientific, technological and organizational processes available. In fact, the most capital-strong enterprises, transnational firms and states have been forced to accelerate this process, while the weaker ones end up coming out of the crisis even further behind. (This basic formula, of course, has asserted itself as a trend that has been affected by a variety of peculiarities and

exceptions.) During capitalist economic crises there is a large-scale redistribution of productive resources, primarily of capital, which takes the form of drastic changes in international commodity and monetary relations and market price ratios--favoring the more modern on every level and in every system of relationships. It is well known, for example, that the United States has pumped and continues to pump several billions of dollars from the economies of even the most highly developed capitalist states. The deterioration of exchange ratios is even more acutely visible in the relations between the developed capitalist and the developing countries; the gap between them continues to widen. This is also evidenced by the mass-indebtedness of developing countries, including national economies of such enormous size and natural resources as Mexico and Brasil. While it is true that at the summits of the development "heirarchy" of the capitalist world economy forecasts are already predicting the nearing of the end of the recession and the beginning of the recovery, those who have been the most hurt by the crisis will continue to face gloomy prospects not only with respect to the immediate future but also to the coming new era of economic upturn.

How does all of this affect the Hungarian national economy? The openness of our economy--given its dimensions, natural resources and potentials--is an objective necessity. We export about 40 percent of our domestic production earmarked for end use, and we import the same proportion of our total domestic product utilization from abroad. We conduct about 55 percent of our foreign trade with the socialist, and the rest with the developed capitalist and the developing countries.

The main foreign economic condition, guarantee and the firmest foundation of the functioning ability and development of our economy is naturally the system of relationships which we have established with the countries of the socialist community within the framework of the CEMA in order to exploit our mutual advantages. The problem is that like ourselves the other fraternal socialist countries are also in the mid-level category of economic development. This has its historical reasons and it is extremely difficult to overcome relative disadvantages. In any case, like we they also cannot exclude themselves from the world economy, including their relations with the developed capitalist countries, even though as a result of our diverse characteristics the extent of these relations may vary from country to country.

For a less highly developed economy--such as ours--it is vital to maintain relations with those that are more advanced, for not competing or maintaining contact with them could conserve and even aggravate its backwardness. History has taught us this very well, sometimes by giving us some painful lessons. When we talk about mutual advantages despite deteriorating exchange ratios that are unfavorable to us, this is what we must keep in mind. Relying solely on our own resources we would never be able to acquire state-of-the-art technologies and enjoy the advantages offered by the division of labor and other sources of development. Only by constantly measuring our strength against those who are more advanced than we are can we compel and educate ourselves to produce more efficiently and more profitably, and to

produce competitive quality goods. This is how we profit and earn long-term benefits from our presence in the capitalist world market, and we use these benefits to improve our socialist economy. Our world economic and developed capitalist relations--their international political significance notwithstanding--could not be dispensed with even if our socialist integrating organization, the CEMA could fully supply our national economy with all the goods it needs in order to function. Our intra-CEMA cooperation, however, still has not attained the level where it could and should be. Another reason why this cooperation will have to become more efficient than it is today is so that it can help solidify the position and strengthen the economic-negotiating background of the socialist countries in their dealings with the capitalist countries.

Our economic relations with the developed capitalist countries have not only been made necessary but have also been hampered by the fact that--as we have pointed out--our economy is only moderately developed. Granted that some of our agricultural indicators have reached, or have gotten close to reaching the world standard (although its overall efficiency has not fared nearly as well); the decisive portion of our national income, however, comes from industry. And our industry--as far as its structure and quality is concerned--is characterized by diversity. We have enterprises that are competitive even on the world market; however, we also have firms which today are still consumers rather than producers of our national income. Our average productivity is still far behind not only that of the developed capitalist countries, but also that of several socialist countries (the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, GDR). Add to this the fact that our so-called tertiary branches, including services, are even more backward than the ones mentioned above. In sum: so far as a result of all this we have been victims rather than beneficiaries of changing international exchange ratios.

The capitalist world economic crisis happened at a time when as a result of our shift to an intensive form of economic development we were facing qualitatively new and already more difficult tasks. It happened during a period when the advantages and results of our economic management reform introduced in 1968 and developed in close coordination with our intensive economic development were just beginning to unfold.

However, it should also be openly pointed out that our economic policy has failed to react quickly enough to the changes that occurred in the external situation 10 years ago. Even though we were receiving less and less for our exported products in the capitalist world market while at the same time our imported commodities were becoming increasingly more expensive, meaning increasingly greater deficits in our yearly balance--we still felt confident that we could continue to protect our economy from unfavorable external effects. We used to--like a child-spoiling, bad mother--"protect" and safeguard our enterprises from being forced in time to operate more efficiently, to develop a more modern and profitable product structure, to produce more competitive quality, to adopt better plant and work organization and to become consistently economy-minded. But we are not talking only about our economic organizations. We have made the right decision to protect our workers and our people from becoming exposed suddenly to the full burden of the capitalist world economic crisis--at the same time, however,

we have also shielded them from feeling the unavoidable consequences of this crisis themselves. During the past one and a half decades our standard of living has continued to increase at a consistent rate, even when those increases were no longer backed by realistic reserves and when the productivity of our economy was long unable to afford them. This has also been responsible for the accumulation of a stock of Western debts which when combined with the interest charges they have accrued will take us longer to repay than the length of the period between 1973 and 1978 during which it allowed us to breathe more freely.

In several countries of the world the crisis has led to economic bankruptcy, insolvency, a decline in the standard of living, socio-political crises or at least to serious tensions (for which there have been examples even within the socialist community). In our country we have been able to halt this process; the turning point came at the December 1978 session of our party's 12th congress. The main goals and methods of our present economic policy are well known: to ensure, by systematically our rate of economic growth, that if possible only those types of production be allowed to grow which are both profitable and competitive; to restore the foreign economic balance of our country and to preserve our solvency at any cost; and finally, to use these measures to the best of our abilities as the basis for maintaining our already attained standard of living.

Although our external conditions have continued to deteriorate even more than we had anticipated, we have been able to achieve some moderate results in the course of implementing this economic policy; most importantly, we have kept our national economy on its feet, which by itself has been quite an achievement. This, however, should by no means be interpreted to suggest that the worst is over. For these initial results have been attained not by improving the achievements of our production to the extent desired, but by reducing domestic consumption and by introducing--what by themselves, of course, are both necessary and encouraging--certain savings measures, primarily in the area of imports. On the longer run, however, this is not a feasible solution. There is only one way out: improving our efficiency, this time for real, by mobilizing all of our mental reserves. In other words--even by international standards--we must work much more effectively and expeditiously.

A strained and tense international political atmosphere; a crisis-torn, turmoil-threatening world economy which simultaneously forces us to maneuver skillfully and compete at a more rapid pace--these are the main challenges of our present and the most serious present-day problems to face us in the future. Can we respond to these challenges, do we have creative answers to these problems; do we have a realistic and practical program that will enable us to take part in these processes not as inactive observers and suffering victims, but as fully active participants?

We do have such an answer and such a program. Consistently adhering to our policies--that is the answer.

First and foremost we are strengthening our intra-alliance cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community, which are the most realistic

forces capable of preventing another world war; and we are continuing to work hard toward resolving international tensions by joining hands with all peace-loving forces.

We will continue our domestic policy. We are firmly determined to follow the road which we had embarked on more than a quarter of a century ago already. We will continue our policy of openness which we had started at the low point of an extremely serious and tragic situation, but which has enabled us to overcome the forces of counterrevolution, regain the trust of our people and restore its faith in socialism, and which has made it possible for us to achieve results during the past 27 years that have been of truly historical significance. This policy has been and will continue to remain unchanged--basically speaking. Its constantly changing elements, however, have always enabled us to respond to the changing realities and to solve the tasks immediately facing us. For us this policy continues to be the key factor of action even today.

Today and during the coming years there will be two important--and not unrelated--fields of activity where we can expect our tasks to become markedly defined. One of them is the continued development of our system of economic management in the spirit of the reform. The other is the continued improvement of our socialist democracy.

What?--someone might ask. Are we trying to respond to the serious problems brought onto us essentially by external factors with domestic measures? Faced with an economically, politically and militarily tense world situation, are we directing our attention to improving our own industry-building efforts? Is this a sensible answer?

This is the only sensible answer. Only our domestic efforts and the tangible results which we attain in the course of building a socialist society can earn our country respect, our international activities attention and our word credibility. This is the point on which our answer to these two challenges become one. History does not give us any other choice or any better solutions. There are no alternatives to the continuation of our policies that would be more rational or more humane, although their implementation could be made more efficient.

The stability and development of our economy is understandably of special importance to us; this provides the foundation and material basis for advancement in all other areas. We have already mentioned that we have been unable to stop the dangerous deterioration of our economic situation but have failed to make our production more efficient. Now the question is: do we have a long-term program that will help to improve the efficiency and the quality attributes of production amidst constantly pressing difficulties? Yes, we do! The advances which we have made toward improving our economic management and realizing the goals of our reform serve precisely this purpose.

According to the Central Committee's April, "half-time" resolution there is no need to "reform the reform," in other words to adopt a differently

constructed system of management in place of the one introduced in 1968; after all during the past one and a half decades it has proven its viability. Instead we should proceed in its very spirit; it is this well-tested system of management which we must apply more consistently and develop further.

For it is also undeniable that we are not always consistent in applying it in all areas. We cannot be for objective reasons and due to the pressure of circumstances. What we give out with one hand--by allowing greater independence and making available the resources provided for by our economic regulators--we often must take away with the other. This, of course, is due to a combination of objective necessity and occasionally subjective convenience. It is also a fact, furthermore, that our system of economic management has not established itself completely at every level and every sphere of our economy. There are many areas where it still has not fully asserted itself--as they say--"within the gates," but there are several points even on the macrolevel where the mechanism is hindered by continuity problems and functioning difficulties.

On the authority and under the guidance and control of our party there have been significant preparations under way for some time now aimed at improving our system of economic management. Our task is twofold: to improve government control (on the macrolevel) aimed at enhancing the efficiency of management; and to develop a more independent, more venturesome and more effective form of enterprise management (on the microlevel) that will be better suited to satisfy the requirements of competitiveness and quality and that will enable processes such as the modernization of the product structure, manpower flow, etc. to take place more rapidly and more smoothly. In order to attain these main goals we need a system of regulators that provides our enterprises with reliable orientation for preparing their long-term production and marketing strategies and exerts the necessary influence required by the national economy on price calculation, wage management and taxation.

Prices, first of all, should more consistently reflect internationally recognized and socially necessary expenditures. And here the emphasis is on international standards. In the long run such price calculations may be the key to efficient production and profitable exports.

We need a unified tax system, furthermore, which instead of reducing would increase people's interest in attaining a profit both for the enterprise and the individual; which encourages competition, and which at the same time does not leave open any "small doors" that would allow the realization of unearned income or earnings which do not reflect the value of the work performed.

Income regulation has a twofold function which will continue to remain in effect: to ensure, on the national economic level, the balance between purchasing power and the amount of goods available on the market; in the production sphere, on the other hand, we must provide more--or rather, finally establish--real incentives and encourage greater financial interest in productive work both on the enterprise, but through it also on the level of

the individual worker. And yes, this is probably the main area where we are finding that the need for change is becoming increasingly more urgent every day.

On this point "everything is crying out for help." Starting with the inadequacy of differentiation which we have been pressing for in vain for so long. The spending of huge sums of money on unnecessary, worthless and useless activities and shoddy "work." In other areas just the opposite has been the case: inability to reward highly valuable work with adequately high compensation that would provide realistic recognition and attractive incentives. Still significant differences in remuneration for activities of equal value performed in different (private and socialist) sectors. Wage tensions at the expense of certain white-collar strata--such as the technicians--which may also have dangerous consequences in the future. And we could go on: the point is that everything is hastening the establishment of adequate material incentives. The kind of personal incentives which in the final analysis are in agreement with the basic tenets of socialism and with the principle of distribution according to the work performed.

Socialism is the liberation of labor from under the rule of capital. In our country this has essentially been completed. What we have to do now is to free the enormous creative and mental energy reserves which our people possess and which is inexhaustible of our continued prosperity. The interests of the workers' rule, the working class and our people demand that these mental potentials be fully exploited. It is true that while this is easy to say it is just as complicated a task to work out and implement. Capitalism also has its own long-established and well-functioning system of incentives. The socialist society must--to use Lenin's term--"grind out" its own well-functioning system of incentives. We can all see just how much pain, experimentation, stumbling, contradiction-creating and resolving this has taken us in recent times.

We will have to reassess the way our social benefits, community care and social policies are administered. Our goal is to ensure that rather than becoming mechanically dissipated, the money spent for these purposes reaches the area where it is really needed and where it can also have a positive effect on the development of our society. It should be spent mainly to assist the elderly living on small pensions; to help young people start a family; to ease the situation of families with many children and to promote the realization of our population policy goals. It should not, however, serve as the financial basis for the regeneration of destructive social symptoms (such as alcoholism and lumpen life style); and it should serve as an incentive that will encourage people to respect and safeguard rather than waste our most valuable social possessions (such as our housing stock).

The continued development of our system of economic management also includes the continued shaping of our forms of enterprise organization.

Greater enterprise independence and the willingness to be venturesome and to take risks necessary require that, on the one hand, the collectives play a more intensive role in management, that the proprietary views and attitudes

of our workers be reinforced and that our social organs at the work place--especially our party and union organizations--also be given a more important role in evaluating the performance of economic managers. They also imply, on the other hand, that the position of our economic managers should be changed: namely, their livelihood should be made more dependent on their economic effectiveness or ineffectiveness. At all levels, from the director to the foreman they should be given greater independence, a broader scope of authority and more means of influence; at the same time, they will also have to assume more responsibilities and greater existential risks, naturally in return for greater incentives.

Our national economy which is tied to the world economy--including both its socialist and capitalist sectors--with a thousand links should be imbued with a healthy spirit of competition and enterprise. And when we talk about enterprising spirit we are thinking mainly about our socialist units, i.e., our state enterprises and cooperatives. The fact is that today we still cannot find too many examples in this sphere of such improved enterprising spirit; it does exist, however, mainly in the private sector and also in the various forms which have been vulgarly referred to as "small businesses." The social value of small businesses and business work partnerships within our socialist enterprises is unequivocal; they enable us to make better use of our productive capacities. Those in the private sector, on the other hand, help to improve the availability of services: their existence has been justified by realistic demands which at the same time also limit their growth and help to keep their earnings, which in some cases are still disproportionately high, within normal bounds.

Undoubtedly, they also cause serious tensions, particularly when it comes to the question of performance and to wages and incomes. We are not talking about tensions which in the long run could not be solved; in fact, some of them are already on their way to being resolved. It is not at all an absurd fantasy to hope that as many other factors perhaps these tensions will also help to promote--or force--the establishment of the already mentioned system of socialist financial incentives and the development of a more expedient income regulation policy and enterprise income management. Naturally, in this area it is also essential that we improve our existing controls and that we reduce and continually try to prevent abuses and undesirable distortions. We are nevertheless convinced that our socialist enterprises and cooperatives are the chief guarantors of our growing enterprising spirit and practice.

The development and strengthening of our economic management reform and our socialist democracy have been parallel processes that have already mutually affected one another; moving forward along the road of reform and continuing the development of our democracy will remain organically linked also in the future. The continued development of our system of economic management requires that our socialist democracy function in a lively manner.

The level of development which socialist democracy has attained in our country during the past quarter of a century has, in the final analysis, been recognized--of course with great many reservations and with various degrees of objectivity--not only by our friends, but also by the



political-ideological adversaries of socialism. On our part we are rather dissatisfied with our achievements so far. In its already mentioned "half time" resolution adopted this April, the Central Committee of our party defined this dissatisfaction in an unequivocally critical manner: our socialist democracy is nowhere near the level which given the present phase of our socialist construction it could and also should have attained.

Our main problems have to do with day-to-day practice, but of course there is a close relationship between practice and our system of institutions. Hence, during the past few months our party--after perfecting some earlier ideas, collecting some data and doing some preparatory work--has taken a stand on a whole series of issues and has made far-reaching recommendations to our state and social organs regarding the continued development of the institutional system of our socialist democracy. Among its recommendations it has called for the improvement of our system of parliamentary and local elections, arguing that before its proposal on this issue is sent before the forum of the legislature it be disseminated by the Patriotic People's Front in order to generate widespread social debate. It has also taken a stand in favor of eliminating the districts (jaras) and increasing the independence of the local councils. Finally, it has examined the place and role of our labor unions and recommended that the quality of their performance be raised and their work be improved; for communists working in these unions this position constitutes a mandatory directive.

It is not our intent here to give a detailed analysis of these three well-known documents, but in order to clarify their significance in the continued development of our socialist society, we do need to make a few theoretical-type comments here.

It is indeed true that just as it was in the case of every advance we have made in our various areas of development during the past quarter of a century, our party has also been the initiator of our present achievements. This political initiative stems from the leading social role of our party and is a manifestation and proof of its success. There is a fundamentally mistaken perception, however, a vulgar definition of which can often be heard claiming that it is our leadership which "grants" our people more rights and broader democracy. This kind of presentation is primarily a reflection of the unfair views of some of our bourgeois critics or of their inability to understand the essence of our system, but whether it is said or unsaid it can also be heard in certain spheres of our domestic public opinion, and once in a while it can even be detected in the thinking of some of our comrades. Yet it is a logic that has been turned upside down. Democracy cannot be "granted" "from above." The source of our democracy and our people's power is our people itself. In essence, just as the leading organs of our state, our party also receives its mandate from the people to fulfill its leading role which it considers a service to the people. Our party unites within its ranks those members of our working class, our cooperative peasantry, our intelligentsia and other strata who are the most consciously and actively able and ready to struggle and perform political work in order to promote the real interests of our people and the realization of our socialist objectives. Our masses participate in the forming and shaping of our

policies in part directly, and in part through mass organizations and movements. Our party, therefore, is not looking merely for acquiescing and it is not only the implementation of its policies for which it is seeking the support of the masses.

Another thing that should be mentioned here is that it would be a mistake to mechanically compare the development history of socialist democracy with that of the bourgeois democracies. Bourgeois democracy does not serve as the "etalon," or model for socialist democracy; the two have developed from different foundations and roots. The basis of capitalist society is private property. The private property-based freedom of exploitation, however, limits and restricts the development of bourgeois democracies, for the real political opportunities of their citizens which are based on their actual financial and class status may sharply differ from their legal right to equality. Socialist democracy does not have such limitations and restrictions. Socialist society--in its essence--is a thoroughly democratic system, down to its very root; it is basically democratic even in its early, initial necessarily dictatorial forms, and is even more so in terms of its future and long-term perspectives.

A third thing to keep in mind socialist democracy has its own independence system of institutions and functioning mechanisms which reflect the essence of socialism. Its development is a process which is affected by countless subjective and objective factors, primarily by the given domestic and international situation. Obviously, for example, the pending danger of a counter-revolution does not promote its development. Another obvious factor that has a detrimental effect on the development of democracy is external threat and a cold war-like international atmosphere. Other factors that affect the development of socialist democracy include economic development, the state of public education and the legacy of the given country's historical traditions, i.e., whether it has had previous democratic experiences, or--as it has been the case in Central and Eastern Europe--it has had hardly any. Last, but not least, the development of socialist democracy is also affected by the correct decisions and the subjective mistakes of the political leadership--both of which offer plenty of examples as we look back at our nearly four decades of history since the liberation. Therefore, when we weigh the results of our democracy so far, and when we examine its future prospects we have to look at the combined effect of several factors.

Among the various areas of socialist democracy and within its development as a whole, party democracy plays an especially important role. Granted that there have been no new decisions made or positions taken concerning it; after all we still have operative decrees governing it the implementation of which is reviewed and examined periodically by our Central Committee and which, therefore, is constantly on the agenda also during the present period.

In our country the rule of the working class, our toiling people is asserted under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and is kept within the framework of a one-party system which has been designed to build a socialist society. Consequently, it is also our party which--acting as a

conscious driving force--has been encouraging the development of socialist democracy. At the same time, as the construction of our socialist society is making continued advances and as our tasks become more and more complex, other institutions of our society--i.e., our central and local state agencies, social organizations and movements--also must assume an increasingly greater share of our political division of labor and responsibilities, and must function increasingly more independently. Marxism-Leninist parties have always believed, and also continue to profess today that the building of a socialist society cannot be solely the result of the efforts of communists, but must be the work of the people as a whole.

It follows from all of this that one of the determining aspects of socialist democracy is the internal life of our party. Our party democracy provides--and in the future must increasingly provide--an example and an incentive for our socialist democracy as a whole. Without it it would be inconceivable to have democratically functioning state life, places of work, mass organizations and movements. We cannot realistically assume that the democratic development of our state organs, local councils and trade unions could achieve a higher level than the development of our party democracy. Hence, if we want the continued development of our electoral system, the independence of our local councils and our efforts to improve the work of our trade unions to achieve the desired results--i.e., the strengthening of our socialist democracy--then as an indispensable precondition for all of this we must also ensure the continued development and constant "maintenance" of the democracy of party life.

The basic Leninian principle of the organizational structure and operating system of our party is democratic centralism. This is also the principle according to which our leading bodies and officials are elected: i.e., by way of recommendations made on the basis of preliminary opinion surveys conducted among the electorate, by majority vote and secret ballot and by the reinforcing approval of the competent party organs. Naturally, it is very rare for such subsequent approvals to be refused; just as it has been rare for the majority of votes not to have been cast for the proposed candidate. Although our organizational rules do not stipulate having to name two or more candidates, it does not forbid it; nevertheless, it has not been a widely used practice, although we have had precedents for it in recent years. There have been several instances this year in a number of counties where--as a result of divided preliminary opinions--in conducting the elections to fill the position of the first secretary of the county party organization, the county party's executive committee had named two candidates, and it was from among these two that the county party committee elected its own number one leader.

Democracy and centralism are in a dialectical unity and interaction; violating either aspect of this relationship may lead to distortions. In reality and in everyday practice we find that while--correctly--in the majority of cases the principle of centralism has been allowed to fully assert itself, party democracy among some of our party organs and organizations has shown signs of relative weakness. Lenin, the founder of the Bolshevik party had sharply and passionately criticized those who had failed to understand the

necessity of strict centralism and of pushing party democracy into the background given the circumstances of those times and the conditions of illegality. But it is precisely because we understand Lenin's way of thinking, his dialectics and revolutionary logic that we have to ask the question: would he not--now that the rule of the working class and the leading role of the party has been achieved and given our socialist conditions--censure some of our party organs and organizations just as sharply and passionately for the weakness of democracy in their operations, regardless of whether it be due to old and antiquated routines, petty and subjective jealousies of power or simply to leisureliness and mental indolence. And we must wonder whether in these party organizations it is not the lack of weakness of democracy itself which has caused the silting and clogging up of such vitally important, pure resources as activism, standing up for our policies, the willingness to take initiative and the political sources of firm and effective collective action.

The quality and methods by which our leading organs are elected is not the most important manifestation of party democracy. The main characteristic of party democracy is that democratic, friendly and creative atmosphere which is an essential condition for the organization to be able to analyze the situation of a given area and to determine the steps that need to be taken on the basis of comradely and open debates. If this is what is missing, or if the atmosphere of the collective is poisoned by personal rivalries, reservations toward one another or by exaggerations of minor misunderstandings, then the party organization is unable to fully perform its function. The petty-bourgeois atmosphere created by personal animosities, which in some of our institutions has become quite widespread, eats away at the creative power of the party organization just as the wood worm eats away at trees. The best way we can avoid this is by creating a democratic and comradely community of views on the basis of strict adherence to the norms of our party, the effects of which are manifested in constructive debates, active support from our party members and in activities aimed at implementing our policies.

In socialist domestic life the party must serve as a kind of a condenser: it must bring into focus those impulses--proposals, signs of approval or criticism--which in the final analysis contribute to the forming and shaping of policies in every sphere and domain of society. Only our party membership as a whole, our hundreds of thousands of communists can exploit and bring these impulses, recommendations and policy-forming opinions to the surface and relay them to us from the factories, farms and from every work place and residential area. More encouragement and assistance should be given to our worker and physical laborer party members so that they become more willing and able to make their voices heard and represent the views of the people of our country, especially in our leading bodies. Neither our most capable and best trained officials, nor our most perfectly functioning apparatus can replace the collective political intelligence of our various public bodies and the mental capacities possessed by our party membership as a whole. Only together by reinforcing each other can centralism and democracy assert themselves effectively in party work.

Only in these areas can local councils and work-place union organizations be expected to have the attributes of spirited, lively and democratic vitality

and responsible independence where the party organization is characterized by the same qualities. For the internal democracy of our party life to emanate and to serve as an inspiration in other areas of social life we must have communists working in our state organs, trade unions and other mass organizations and movements who also happen to perform elected functions there not only on behalf of the party, but also as bearers of the trust of their non-party member fellow workers and other constituents. They are the ones who must carry the democratic work-style of our party over to the other democratic forums of our society, thereby giving rise to creative debates and promoting initiative, collective action and effective work. All of this must be practiced and "learned" and at a much higher level than before.

One of the essential conditions of the development of our socialist democracy is the democratic character of public life. The way the institutions of our socialist society function, and the work and attitude of the people--communists and non-party members--working in them have always been and will continue to remain, as they say, in the "spot light" and will always be especially closely followed by the masses. This holds true for every institution, from the simplest office to the highest organs of control, and for everybody including the efforts of the lowest ranking administrator to the work of officials serving in positions of the greatest responsibility. Socialist democracy means that our popular masses and workers must take an increasingly active and also more direct part in the management of public affairs; it also implies, however, that the institutions and the people working in them who manage these affairs are expected to perform increasingly more effective work, and just as importantly, to display attitudes that are in accordance with our socialist norms. Our democratic public life is a direct public life, in other words, it is subjected to growing social control; it is also an open public life, that is to say it is open to the initiatives, recommendations, activities and direct participation of our citizens. Whether it is a pure kind of public life or one that is active, vital and effective it is conditioned on the strengthening of its democratic character.

As far as the purity of our public life is concerned, our socialist society is less willing to tolerate phenomena threatening it than any other society: i.e. financial kickbacks, the use of one's official position for personal gain, unprincipled interpenetrations, protectionism and cases of corruption. It is true that our public opinion occasionally tends to exaggerate the extent of these problems, often giving credence to unfounded accusations. It is a fact, however, that there have also been some real cases that have justifiably irritated and angered people, party and non-party members, people in leading as well as non-leading positions, in other words the honest majority. In order to successfully suppress these phenomena, first we must--in addition to taking administrative measures--strengthen our democracy, and even before that we must ensure that our party democracy is functioning in a lively manner. Speaking out against such phenomena, trying to stop or even prevent them by putting aside all considerations of existential dependence--this is the foremost duty of our party organizations.

This, however, is only one--and not even the most important--aspect of the question. Ensuring the purity of public life is a basic need; a much more meaningful requirement, however, is to have a public life which is both active and creative. We could also say that not taking advantage of one's power can cause infinitely greater damage to society than misusing that power. Bureaucratic impasses, incompetence, timidity and even cowardliness; the continual postponement of decisions, actions and their implementation mental idleness, not to mention indolence; constant searching for ways to avoid having to take a stand, accept responsibility or initiate action--perhaps it is not necessary to list more synonyms for this kind of attitude. Unfortunately, we could also give an endless list of its manifestations, i.e., of specific cases from the "rich" collection of our public life.

Yet it is precisely the difficult situations which do not permit or tolerate this kind of widespread apathy and passivity. It is precisely the extraordinary tasks facing us today which demand not only that our public life be completely pure, but what is even more important: that it also be active and creative. Here again what is needed is a stronger socialist democracy, active cooperation on the part of our citizens and collectives, strong social control and the increasingly stronger assertion of the power of the public. It is also necessary that the affairs of the public be conducted in accordance with its own set of values by the competent institutions and by the party and non-party member officials working for them who have received their mandate from our party, our state and our people.

Having examined this train of thought thoroughly one can clearly see that a society which has this many things to do and is struggling to solve these kinds of problems is a society which is preparing for peace. And that is indeed what we are preparing for. By keeping our nerves under control and strengthening the guarantees of our security even in this extremely tense international situation, and by realistically assessing the dangers and possibilities facing us in our pressing economic situation we must continue our efforts and carry on our work aimed at building a socialist society. We must continue to make advances toward improving our economic management and our socialist democracy. We are convinced that this is the right answer--and indeed the only possible answer--to the most burning questions of our times. By showing the world the achievements of our work we are in effect also serving the peace and the most basic vital interests of our humanity.

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## HUNGARY

### RADIO EDITOR SEES MEDIA PREEMPTING PARTY IN ADDRESSING ISSUES

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[Article by Janos Hajdu, editor-in-chief of HET: "Mass Communications and Politics"]

[Text] The flow of information has become a crucial question in the development of every society. There are experts who have gone as far as to view information as a means of production, claiming that nowadays it has become just as much a part of every process that produces new value as for example machines. The fact is that there is an increasing number of modern machines which would be inconceivable to operate without programmed information.

Nor is the situation any different when it comes to information and opinions regarding the life of a society and the laws that make it function. It is anachronistic to view the flow of information as a kind of intellectual benefit that can be rationed according to outside considerations and value categories, and of which those who "deserve it" should be given more, and those who "did not work for it" should receive less. A situation which is characterized by a lack of information presents a source of danger for every society. This is precisely why ideological precision must not be left up to chance in mass communications. Our only real alternatives in mass communications lie not in whether we talk about something or not, but rather in what and how we convey it to our society.

Of course, there is also a more narrow perspective from which one can approach the ideological work done in the workrooms of mass communications. We could limit ourselves--which later we will not try to avoid--to preparing a status report that would itemize all of the recognizably favorable or unfavorable internal and external ideological factors which affect our work and have been considered desirable or judged undesirable, and subsequently we could, with proper zeal, brag about the good and condemn the bad.

The reason we did not choose this route is because things that may be possible and in isolated cases even necessary in everyday work may not at all be relevant to discuss in the columns of one of our party's

periodicals. We must definitely broaden our scope of thinking on this forum. I purposely did not say that we should rise to the theoretical level, for in all probability we would not do it anyway. We are not preparing in this article to ponder over whether today the ideological position assumed by the mass media is indeed of satisfactory dimensions. In the following I will point out how far and in what direction I recommend that we move away from the usual cliches.

The preparation and making of policy decisions must always be done within a specific system of conditions. And the conditions under which our mass media must represent all this are such that while the great majority of our society continues to understand and support the basic objectives of our policies (given the fact that it has been helped in orienting itself by great many experiences of success), the same majority has been finding it increasingly more difficult to distinguish between facts and the flood of, for objective reasons often contradictory, information and propaganda-filled opinions said about them, only a part of which actually originates from us. This in an age when even among our ideologically prepared party workers we hear understandably passionate debates daily over such questions as how we should proceed today--in order to take a more realistic approach toward our goals--in building on the egalitarian foundations of our world view, and therefore on the mentality which is characterized and determined by the future image and ideas of every socialist and communist, using the method of unprecedented differentiation. Or when on occasions we find ourselves faced with the paradox of being praised and lauded by imperialist propaganda for a method we have used or an achievement we have made, with the intent of turning us against one of our allies whose conditions in the given matter are indeed significantly different from ours. Well, under such a system of conditions it takes quite an editor or functionary to be able to work within a narrower margin of error than before. Even though none of us would dispute the fact that it is in our strong interest to avoid making blunders.

Another completely unusual, and as of yet still not adequately tested mass-communications task facing us is our program's call for tapping the energies released as a result of the freer assertion of partial interests and using them to enhance our development. It logically follows from this intention that our decision alternatives will first suddenly appear, and then with frantic speed will break into the center of our political life. We would deal ourselves certain defeat in mass communications if we did not articulate the various interests of our people ourselves, or if we failed to at least make it clear that we are willing to assume this task. Similarly: we would deprive our policies of their mass support just as their democratic features are beginning to gain strength by not conveying and occasionally even initiating the presentation of alternatives in mass communications.

It is well known that one of the important reasons why our system of decision making and preparation is still far from being optimal is because even in our political sphere we have been unable to match and



harmonize our facts, interest relations and possible considerations for action in a fully democratic manner. Our rules of the game are still undeveloped. But there is also another side to this set of problems, namely that we seem to have come to the point where even genuine efforts aimed at expressing and safeguarding the interests of our people and the events preceding the compromises reached at our democratic forums are not always mentioned on the forums of mass communication. With some self-irony we could even say that our trade unions, for example, or even such bodies as the TOT [National Council of Producer Cooperatives], the KIOSZ [National Organization of Artisans] or the Chamber are actually better and more successful than their reputation in the world or the image that people have about them. In addition, in order to actively and innovatively present our alternatives and interests we must keep in mind that public opinion will continue to expect--and demand even without saying--to be given guidance, and it is only fair for us to work toward optimal results even if it means having to represent the ideological and political objectives of our party--condensed into a formula--while at the same time having to ensure--in order to give credence to our word--that we are looked upon by every relevant stratum of society as a reliable and fighting representative of its interests.

It should be evident from the above that we need to develop a new system of ideological requirements for our mass-communications work-rooms. In our country one of the determining factors of the relationship between politics and mass communications--in addition to many other elements--is that we began to build our socialist society according to an already given model. In theory, the details and application of this model under Hungarian conditions were never matters of doubt even during the period prior to 1956. It is another question that the internal, dogmatic inflexibility of those years became one of the causes that gave rise to a process which not only led to struggles over elements which could and should have been discussed, but which also allowed the initiative to be seized by those who in the final analysis ended up putting the very existence of our socialist system in jeopardy.

During the period of consolidation at first mass communications itself was a scene of political struggles, hence for a long time it was unsuitable to play a greater role and to be more flexible than merely serving as the executor of political demands. It is undoubtedly by no accident that it was during the next period of our history of socialist construction, i.e. during the one or two years prior to the introduction of our new economic mechanism, that mass communications also became a socially discernible forum of policy making. Therefore, there have been instances, and for their time successful practical examples in the history of our party for finding ways of turning mass communications into a forum of policy formation even in fundamentally important and ideologically still open matters. Namely, into a forum which has helped to strengthen the democratic features, including the internal tolerance of our system not only without

promoting instability, but by doing just the opposite: helping to reestablish stability over and over again by creating a consensus. It would be an exaggeration to claim that since the end of the 1960's we have consistently widened and followed this road. On the other hand it also would not be true to say--and we have actual press policy-related reasons to point this out--that blocking this road has become a determining aspect of our party's policy.

Although today they are already very much in need of further improvement, in the 1970's, for example, we achieved some significant results in promoting many-sided differentiation in our mass communications. Since as a result of our political successes the hegemony of Marxism in our society has continued to strengthen, our mass communications has also become bolder, and in terms of its sensitivity to problems more open. We have seen and will continue to witness a division of labor-type of structuralization. In the printed mass media the basic purpose of communications has always been to propagate, and whenever it became necessary to defend our mainly real, and to a lesser extent imagined achievements and positions. This has also been basically true for radio and television with the important difference that the program structure of these two electronic forms of media has made it possible for them to develop so-called class programs which soon also became forums for profoundly ideological, open thinking, exchanges of ideas and debates. The significance of all this has only been increased by the fact that the media today is also looked upon world wide as a scientific forum. The possibility of maintaining an ivory tower-like scientific public life and trying, and consciously at that, to remain exclusive is gone for ever. The media has become a means which in this age of rapid development is used to establish a relationship between science and society, theory and practice.

Without a doubt, however, one of the strengths of our mass communications has been that part of our periodical publications which for the sake of simplicity we will define here as our non-literary weekly and monthly organs. While we are talking about the preparedness and the possibilities of our mass communications, perhaps it is worthwhile to point out: one of the significant successes of our party's initiatives has been the fact that they have made it possible for the above mentioned organs to become forums for analyzing the widest range of economic, social and cultural problem areas, for weighing our possibilities and preparing our decisions. For this very reason perhaps it would be an acceptable working hypothesis to say that communications aimed at public opinion in its broadest sense should also be expanded and strengthened in the same spirit, taking advantage of an already existing possibility which, however, is also in real need of revitalization: i.e. the continuation of many-sided discussions in our letters columns of issues which are of the greatest concern to our society. Present practice has turned these columns into instruments which serve the functions of a complaint office or have degenerated to being highly superficial collections of gossip.

In order, of course, for these conceptions together with the many that have been proposed by the driving forces behind mass communications, i.e. by specialized science and the profession, to become a single work program, mass communications must also possess the professional and political preconditions necessary to move forward.

We will start to answer this question by reviewing some theses from a study. In 1981-1982 the Mass Communications Research Center conducted a comprehensive study about the situation of the Hungarian society of journalists. According to this survey, 40 percent of our journalists consider a strongly critical, 17 percent a moderately critical and 16 percent a so-called stabilizing type of mass communications to be the most ideal. At the same time, the journalists asked had a significantly less favorable view of editorial autonomy than of the degree of freedom they enjoy in their own activities.

Well, since the great majority of the people working in Hungarian mass communications today are the products of the post-1956 consolidation, and since during this entire period disciplined and constructive work was the determining characteristic of the press, we should hardly have any doubt that the above mentioned critical attitude is not a kind of restrained oppositionist sentiment or even a more or less controlled drive to contest everything, but probably a not very well defined manifestation of a determination to help form and improve our policies which should not be discounted (even though it may not reflect the great majority of views within the profession) and which is in our basic interest to carefully guide in the right direction and allow to gradually assert itself. This is the direction in which our party has been trying to guide mass communications today, even while working toward improving our representative democracy. And this point requires an additional note.

What we are talking about here is not a kind of pluralism of opinions characterized by a situation in which the actions of the political power on one end are watched, and whenever possible criticised on the other by communications. No! What our social make-up requires is mass communications which can also identify with our political wishes and can do so in a more informed manner than today, and which can lead to the open and as such peace-promoting articulation and gradual resolution of conflicting interests.

The development of such tendencies would not be feasible from one day to the next by giving a limited or broader group of editors some kind of authorization or patent to review, change--and let us say--continue to develop their socio-political functions. It would be even less desirable for us to find that the undeniably multiplying and intensifying conflict situations which characterize our economic and political conditions are allowed to spontaneously make their way into the workrooms of mass communications which are sometimes easier, and at times more difficult to conquer. In Hungary every constitutionalized achievement we have made during the past

quarter of a century has been the result of the fact that our party has put not only an exclamation mark but also a question mark at the end of every period of our development. Not in order to belittle the visible achievements of collectives and individuals, but in order to ensure that the need for change is not dictated to us by necessity. In order to make certain that our own careful preparedness, as a result of which we dare to constructively question our values, also makes us capable to act and to take the initiative before life would force us to react anyway in ways that are never free of improvisation. All of us vividly remember such notable examples as the improvements that were made in the institutional system of socialist legality in the 1960's with the help of built-in guarantees, the post-socialist transformation, and for all practical purposes still continuing structural development of agriculture and last--but not least--the already mentioned preparation, and during the past five years renewed development of the implementation of our new economic mechanism.

Typically, ideological mistakes, or we could call them short circuits, usually occur in the workrooms of today's mass communications when our journalists and editors become firmly convinced that we have lost the initiative on some issue, or that others are talking about us, to us and for us. It is also a provable fact that the great majority of our so-called oppositionist publications--whether they be published legally or illegally--are nothing more than expressions of opinion sliding sometimes to the right and sometimes to the "left" which exist, and which those of us in the political sphere are often not only familiar with but for years have been trying intensively to manage, although without actually talking about them in the mass media.

We would have probably been able to render many of our existing conflicts harmless had we acted more boldly as the class-conscious shapers of our policies and initiated the debate earlier without waiting for the debate to be forced upon us by certain circles, who in part are subjectively motivated in calling for a "different system", and in part are also objectively getting themselves into political danger zones. As an example we could mention certain manifestations of nationalism which occasionally have even taken the form of extreme rightist articulations, claiming that we have not done enough to protect minority interests. But I could also include in this sphere of phenomena those, from the point of view of foreign policy irresponsible manifestations expressed under the pretext of economic reform demands which would have never arisen had it not been for our hesitations and inconsistencies. One of the lessons to be learned from this is that the better prepared we are to neutralize external interference by calling problems by their names, the more room we can provide within the "ramparts of our constitution" for necessary genuine debates.

We are living in the first third of a decade when as a result of mass communications the challenges facing our entire society and

especially our world view are becoming further intensified for two reasons. The first reason, which appears to be a permanent factor, is none other than the technologically inspired revolution of global communications. The screen--naturally not in the sense of its already existing and by all of us well known TV screen which broadcasts one or two programs--is becoming just as much a part of human life as electricity, water, gas and district heating services and mass transportation. I am talking about the screen that will put everything within reach, from factual information needed at work, through multi-terminal conferences, to political, scientific and entertainment programs directly receivable from satellites and made available to anyone with the help of interpreting computers. Also including, of course, printed and televised news and books. We can neither seclude ourselves from it, nor can we avoid it. Our possibilities and at the same time obligations in doing so are primarily ideological, not technical. For as far as we can tell we will not be in the position to dictate either the pace, or the direction of development for quite some time to come. Figuratively speaking: we will also have to live with their system of means. This must be learned and consciously accepted. And most importantly, it must be done with the realization that we have been somewhat late to recognize this!

The other circumstance is temporary, although no one would be able to tell today how long it will last. I am referring basically to the strained relations between the two world systems which are likely to remain with us for quite some time, and to one of the symptoms of this fact which attempts to picture the various socialist systems as discredited regimes, proven to be failures by the facts. This is a more aggressive line than the predominant propaganda theme of the previous period, the convergence thesis.

Our responses must first of all be genuine in the sense that we must try, as soon as possible, to put behind us all of the negative symptoms of our social conditions which when exaggerated can provide fertile ground for hostile agitation and lend support to the failure thesis. The task of mass communications in this process, however, is not merely to reflect our changing conditions, but also to strengthen our democracy by way of autonomous action and by initiating ideological debates. To some extent today we must still struggle to ensure that this function is fully asserted. Even with people who look upon communications merely as the means rather than as the partner of politics. But we must also struggle to change conditions which often force mass communications to assume the absurd role of having to fulfill administrative and even moralist functions. It must do so because it does not want to let our citizens down. This, however, is a grotesque necessity in a socialist society.

Our pro-progress opinion-formers will have a better chance to be more successful if they can focus most of their attention on influencing opinions. On the explication of theoretical interests rather than on making big noises about the petty interests of the given moment.

Hence what can often be heard from our economists today also holds true for mass communications: we must try to stay on our feet and get along under an increasingly more difficult system of conditions. On the other hand, we have an incomparably greater say in the shaping of our system of mass communications and of the ideological norms of our information policy than we do in influencing our world economic positions and our balance-seeking efforts.

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KUBIAK REPORT EXAMINED

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 48, 27 Nov 83 pp 1, 12, 13

[Article by Andrzej Kurz]

[Text] The report of the commission appointed by the PZPR Central Committee [KC] to explain the reasons for and course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland became public knowledge through a special edition of NOWE DROGI printed in a run of several tens of thousands of copies. This fulfilled yet another point of the program resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. The report, discussed and approved by the 12th KC Plenum, makes up a kind of whole when combined with the materials of the 13th KC Plenum that followed. The entire body of materials documents the KC position regarding recommendations drawn from the past and tasks for the future, primarily within the ideological and political sphere, but likewise regarding their link with the economics sphere.

Will the commission report meet the expectations of party ranks and public opinion? This is difficult to answer, and not only because of the wide range of political and intellectual expectations and the frequent mythologizing of these expectations. Above all, we need time to digest these 78 pages of NOWE DROGI printed in tiny type, yielding the contents of an 8-folio book. Time, but a much longer period of time, will also verify the quality of the analyses, and above all of the recommendations. One thing is certain: in the history of our party, the report is an unprecedented document and for this reason alone it carries tremendous weight as an attempt. The intentions and the ideological atmosphere of the document are defined by its most expressive motto, an idea drawn from one of Lenin's works of tremendous importance for the theory and practice of real socialism: "The Childhood Disease of Leftism in Communism," written in 1920.

The PZPR Central Committee, in a special resolution passed at its 12th Plenum, passed the entire report and approved the recommendations therein contained, i.e., rendered them the force of a KC resolution. This is very important and binding.

Let us take a somewhat closer look at the characteristic structure of the report via some of its statements and intentions. The lengthy introduction, that is the shortest of the three chapters in the report, somewhat shocks the reader. A major part of the introduction consists of pages and pages

of enumerations (however concise they may be) of party and state decisions and initiatives of a statutory and legal/systems-type character that were embarked upon primarily after the Ninth Congress, as a consequence of it. It may seem that these matters did not lie within the commission's field of attention as outlined by the Ninth Congress and the Third KC Plenum and also that laws and intentions in and of themselves do not create social reality. But they provide a framework and a structure that facilitate and even make possible and impel the changes in reality in accordance with the will of the party and the working class that are most certainly contained in the Ninth Congress resolutions. We must also appreciate the fact that nowhere did the commission attempt to suggest that it was specifying the guarantees that the party and society wait for or was defining what it is in the party and in Poland to which we cannot return. This was determined unequivocally by the highest party forum--the Ninth Congress and was transformed into law binding upon everyone by the highest representative body of the people and the nation--the Sejm.

I presume that the commission decided to open its report by listing the reforms that were underway and the laws that had been passed because it consistently held the position that equally as important as the definition of what it is to which there is no return are the march forward toward new values, the real facts and the realistically assigned tasks. The criticism and lack of tendency toward any sort of apologetics characteristic of the commission surely dictated the telling words that conclude the listing: "The scope of the discussed changes and regulations in the party and the state emanating from the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and expressing the line of socialist renewal does not mean that basic progress has already been made in every area. However, the decisions that have been passed and the results of their implementation have ushered in processes of historic significance and have created the conditions indispensable for its continuation."

The introduction is followed by the longest section of the text that has the character of a historical analysis: The Characteristics of the Conflicts and Crises in Society in the History of People's Poland, and the closing chapter: Suggestions Regarding the Issue of Crises and Averting Crises.

## 1. Toward Historical Truth

Unlike the recommendations section, the historical analysis was only noted by the 12th KC Plenum. There is nothing strange in this--it must be very open in character. For a long time to come it will be supplemented with the recollections of participants and witnesses and with the scholarly research of historians. That is why the commission, although attacked by those that know everything and know better, was inclined to dot the "i" only where doubt no longer exists today and why it was very loathe to pass final judgment. It is hard to imagine that the commission's restraint emanated from its failure to pursue the truth actively enough. This is especially so if one is aware that those sitting on the commission included Prof Jerzy Topolski and Prof Jaroslaw Ladosz, Marxist thinkers that are both quite disinclined to be opportunists and differ regarding opinions they have formulated over the years of historiosophical and methodological approaches, as well as Prof Jerzy Wiatr and Docent Norbert Michta, the directors of the major



institutes of the party ideological front, who polemicize publicly with each other. While these are only telling examples, the entire 34-person commission chaired by Prof Hieronim Kubiak, in accordance with a decision of the 3rd KC Plenum, gathered together a highly individualistic group of theoreticians and practitioner-workers, including 9 people that held the positions of KC Politburo and Secretariat members after the 9th Congress. This is also an unprecedented fact.

Even the best commission working for over 2 years would not be capable of arriving at the full historical truth. What makes this especially true is that, as we read in the report, the level of some of the reports and studies available to or prepared for it was unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the results of the commission's work could embolden further scholarly studies and the processes of social research, providing them with the preliminary bases or it could have the opposite effect. The attitude of the KC commission expressed in the report and the position of the Central Committee itself taken at the 12th and 13th Plenums opens the road wide for historical truth.

The statement must be made that the achievements of Marxist historical scholarship and the achievements of the community of Polish historians in general is significant in the field of contemporary political history. There are, however, weak points, touchy subjects and a certain self-consciousness on the part of the party and its class base that does some harm, as well as some procrastination in the publishing of documents regarding the views and attitudes of people that performed leadership functions in the party and the state in the past, especially during the first decades of People's Poland. In particular, this concerns those issues that the commission researched, i.e., the actions and the decisions that give evidence of the failure to perceive the dangerous mounting of social conflict and the growing tensions and clashes that led to crisis collapses and regression. With regard to these issues, too, progress in knowing about historical facts and the behavior of activists and institutions is significant. We only need mention the volumes of the Books and Knowledge [KiW] Publishing House serial publication entitled "Archiwum ruchu robotniczego" [Archives of the Worker Movement] or the quarterly "Z pola walki" [From the Field of Battle]. Recently, for example, these publications contained documents of such fundamental importance as the reports of Wladyslaw Gomulka to the PPR [Polish Workers Party] KC plenums held in May 1945 and June 1948 as well as the minutes from several plenums of the PPR KC and the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] CKW [Central Executive Committee].

These are of special importance in explaining one of the key issues for the development of People's Poland: namely, the 1948 political turn. In the report it was correctly defined as "a dogmatic-sectarian turn preceded by a crisis in party leadership," a "a farreaching change in the party's political line made suddenly and in a manner that shocked the party." The crisis in PPR leadership had been mounting for a long time and was evident in the sharply differing views (especially in 1947) regarding systems-type solutions in the field of the economy (particularly between the major theoreticians of this period Hilary Minc and W[ladyslaw] Gomulka) and in law and order (particularly in the critical views of W. Gomulka on the functioning of the Ministry of Public Security), as well as regarding the ideological and political heritage of the united parties of the workers movement. It was the same with regard to the controversies within the KC Politburo on the identity of the newly

created Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties that were even concealed from the PPR Central Committee. It is enough to recall that, at the founding conference of the Information Bureau in September 1947 in Szklarska Poreba, W. Gomulka presented a position conforming with that of the PPR Politburo, and later he did not wish to agree to a different position that departed from what was agreed upon originally, a draft resolution proposed by Andrey Zhdanov concerning the nature of this international organization. At that time Jakub Berman, who was formally only an adviser to the Polish delegation at Szklarska Poreba (composed of W. Gomulka and H. Minc), went to Warsaw and, together with Boleslaw Bierut, called a meeting of the other members of the PPR KC Politburo that adopted the position of upholding A. Zhdanov's draft resolution, in this way forcing W. Gomulka to present the Politburo majority view at the meeting.

Moreover, I believe that the preparation of a virtually complete edition of the speeches, writings and letters of W. Gomulka is one of the most urgent tasks related to the needs of the party and its old and young cadres, as is the documentation and interpretation of the discussion that has been ongoing in the Polish workers movement, particularly since the Occupation. Perhaps the publication of the report will also stimulate old activists to take pen in hand or to come before the microphone or the camera. They have so much truth to tell and the 40th anniversary is an extended historical period and a self-contained one in many social strata. Gen Jozef Kuropiesk gave an excellent example of how one can write responsibly of even the touchiest subjects in his reminiscences published in ZYCIE LITERACKIE on the time when he found himself a victim of the most brutal perversions of law and order but did not lose faith in Poland and socialism or the will to work for them.

While we can also rely on young scholars that are not fettered by their own involvement in self-adulation, they are also less admirable in their description of former quarrels and controversies from their historical distance. For example, not long ago there appeared a book by Jerzy Jagiello on the ideological and political/systems-type quarrels within the PPR, the ZPP [Union of Polish Patriots] and the Central Bureau of Polish Communist in the USSR during the wartime period and in the PPR and the PPS during the first years of People's Poland. While the author treats too many issues within the space of 14 printed folios and thus leaves himself open to the charge of superficiality, and he is overly dependent upon the words and phrases contained in declarations and speeches and analyzes group views and interests too little, he provides the reader with a great deal of information, interesting opinions and spurs to thinking. This is in contrast to Wladyslaw Wazniewski, for example, who gave a paper at a WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] session in January 1982, that propounded primarily his own, unshakable opinion that the history of People's Poland, and especially of its first quarter-century may be explained in terms of the categories of the group interests of some former members of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland (prewar)] members and crypto-Zionists from the emigration. Marxist truth and methodology seem not at all to stand in his way.

Obviously, this does not mean that there exists no great need to study the interests of political groups and the conflicts that occur among them in the system of authority. It does not mean that we should not study the development

of biographical studies or consider the motives and causes of human individual and group actions. But let us use Marxist-Leninist methodology and not the angelology and demonology cultivated in the past by such as Prof Henryk Rechowicz.

The fight for truth and not various kinds of journalistic and organizational manipulations will enable us to grasp the real greatness and smallness of the silhouettes of past leaders. There is no question but what in past decades we had one great leader and faithful son of the Polish people, bold and innovative in his thinking, consistent in his actions, steadfast in his honesty and tragic in his solitary obstinacy--Wladyslaw Gomulka. The commission report outlines some of the contradictions inherent in this great personality and also describes the hopes and disappointments associated with the portraits of other activists. In this way it provides a direction and stimulus for such necessary studies of leaders, awaited by the party, that are merely a part of a larger consideration: the share of the masses in inspiring and molding their leadership, the constant building of party unity and the overcoming of parochial and groups interests in the party.

Naturally, knowledge of somewhat more distant times and closed chapters of history (in my opinion, the period up to 1970) is more and more complete and thus lends itself to unequivocal statements. It is a different question with regard to the past dozen or so years that, in spite of a radical break marked above all by the August Agreements and the Ninth Congress, are a series of issues that are interwoven and are directly contingent upon each other. This likewise affected the contents and quality of the material discussed in the report and there is no other remedy for this than the revitalization of scholarship and ideology, and the course of time. No doubt for these reasons as well, the events following 1976 and especially those of the second half of 1980 and the first half of 1981 that were discussed in detail and analyzed at the Ninth Congress received less attention in the report, and the remarks therein contained only partly deepen the knowledge and the assessments given by the congress.

These issues are worthy of serious scholarly discussion conducted not to intensify the quarrels that can divide the party but to draw conclusions from recent past periods that have ended as well. Nevertheless, the imposition of martial law, an inevitable and necessary step to save not only socialism in Poland but Poland as well was neither a measure nor a method for resolving all conflicts, but merely the major class conflict concerning the nature of authority within the state.

It seems, for example, that although the authorities at the time of the 1976 events were unable to draw bolder and deeper conclusions and, dismissing all important decisions, pushed toward solutions that were disastrous in nature, the reports-elections campaign that took place before the Eighth Congress, at the end of 1979/beginning of 1980, showed that the link of many primary organizations with their communities, particularly the working class communities and the intelligentsia, did exist. Party organizations clearly desired changes and they wanted the party to attempt to discover the phenomena and causes behind

the suddenly heightened crisis and to undertake the work of reform. In my opinion, this was our last change to keep the enemy of socialism from influencing the broad masses. However, the higher up in the party structure the reports-elections campaign rose, the more the effort of the functioning *aktiv* was devoted to patching up its critical current. At the congress itself, there was only manipulation, as is stated in the commission's report.

Beginning with the Sixth KC Plenum in September 1980, the party embarked upon a tremendous effort at socialist renewal. If we look at its achievements over the 10 months between the Sixth Plenum and the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, and particularly at the results of the congress itself, in spite of the many weaknesses that are now evident in practically every primary organization, we are able to draw hope in the party's strength and potential, especially in its truly working class communities. It even seems, as the commission's report says, that after the signing of the August-September Agreements of 1980 and after the Sixth KC Plenum, the conditions arose for surmounting the crisis and for overcoming social tensions, for the renewal of the socialist principles of the system under the party's leadership. Despite the resistance of some of the *aktiv* concentrated around the higher echelons, it expended a great deal of effort to make very thorough moral revaluations and difficult changes in the leadership cadre. At that time there existed an opportunity for an understanding with the working class current of the new trade unions that were being organized at the time as well.

Soon, however, in the November quarrel over the registration issue, an attack was launched by a second, counterrevolutionary current in Solidarity and the antisocialist opposition groups that manipulated Solidarity. This current most feared an effective renewal and the party's taking of the initiative. It was just after the Ninth Extraordinary Congress that surprised this current with its strength and soberminded resolutions that the current showed its political face openly at the First Solidarity Congress, when antisocialist and anti-Soviet provocateurs, capable even of political crimes, took advantage of the mistakes made in the congress hall that no longer submitted to rational reflection and argumentation. The counterrevolutionary danger to the socialist system and the security of the existence of the people thus required the use of legal state compulsion, the reliance upon methods proposed by the Military Council for National Salvation.

Even the brief period of martial law, however, did not mean a departure from the integrity of the Ninth Congress resolutions that drew conclusions from the entire historical epoch and formulated tasks for the entire epoch as well. The martial law period reinforced this resolution with the slogan: there is no returning to the situation before August 1980, nor to the situation before December 1981. The KC commission's report to explain the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland provides a solid development of this slogan, especially if one considers the report in light of the accompanying materials from the 12th and 13th KC Plenums.

Remarks about the possibilities of the use by the KC commission in its report of studies from the area of the historical sciences and comments about the stimuli the report provides for the further development of scholarly reflection upon contemporary history may also be extended successfully to Polish sociology,

economic sciences and political and legal systems as well. Here one should keep in mind another conclusion that suggests itself in the report, i.e., that the voluntarism of the people that hold leadership positions in the party should not mark out the bounds of theoretical and ideological considerations in the party. It is up to party organizations and echelons to decide whether their participation in the discussion of issues of theory and ideology will recognize and uphold the fundamental values of socialism: the interests of the working class and the principles of internationalism and party unity according to the Leninist idea.

## 2. Toward Knowledge, Democracy and Law and Order

The present state of social knowledge is discussed not only in the central chapter of the report, covering the characteristics of the conflicts and crises in the history of People's Poland, but also in the most important chapter--suggestions.

Let us once again recall that the recommendations presented by the commission have attained the weight of a KC resolution. They also include an answer to the task proposed in the Ninth Congress resolution and then expanded in the Third Plenum resolution (the plenum appointed the commission): the task of formulating, for the use of the party and the state, ways of analyzing the phenomena of sociopolitical life that would enable the earliest possible discovery of the signs of the increase in social tensions and the resolution of incipient conflicts, never again to repeat the tragedies of the past. The suggestions are constructed to serve this task as they draw conclusions from the historical process of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] and then develop the statements of the Ninth Congress program resolution that are most important for the subject matter of the report.

According to the recommendations, the avoidance of conflicts and crises and their effective resolution as well (if they have already occurred) require a full awareness of what is an objective element in the given situation and what are the possibilities of acting of groups of people, and of the party and institutions in particular, including the state above all. The causes of conflicts and crises during the epoch of the building of socialism lie not only in the objective phenomena of social development, that are often external to socialism and in the work of the centers inimical to socialism. They lie above all in the mistakes of the authorities and in their isolation from the working class base and other working groups, as well as in the authorities' violation of an objective developmental need of socialism: the growing share of knowledge in the making of managerial decisions at all levels, the expansion of democracy and the strengthening of law and order.

One of the clearest themes of the historical and suggestions sections of the report is the need for the constant development of theory and ideology and for their utilization in practice. The development of the theory of socialism and the molding of ideological-upbringing processes require not only the activism of the party and its cadres to a greater extent than was the case during the best periods in this regard, but also a constant battle with two dangers that exist simultaneously--dogmatism and revisionism. The report

demonstrates conclusively that a one-sided struggle will always bring harm to the social sciences, ideology and social practice. A successful struggle against bourgeois ideological pressure and revisionism is impossible without the overcoming of the dogmatic and conservative tendency. Dogmatism and sectarianism cannot but be revived unless revisionism is battled vigilantly. The regeneration of dogmatism and sectarianism have their roots not only in the human consciousness but also in social relations. We cannot forget this, since these phenomena recur stubbornly.

For the "keepers of the flame," the pseudo-working class demagogue-radical and the allegedly principled inquisitor are honest people from our class, while the comrades that expose conflicts, dissatisfied with the old solutions, are the equivocating intelligentsia. The fact that such views are the majority views held by workers does not hinder them, for such is the nature of the working class, much to the good fortune of socialism.

I also think that the idea from the 13th KC Plenum report that says that in moments of great tension of the class struggle and of the severe test of strength against the attacking enemy, opportunism becomes the greatest danger harmonizes well with the recommendations made in the report.

The commission report, while giving extremely high status to the role of knowledge and conscious action in the successful building of socialism (while being fully consistent with Marxism-Leninism), had to be equally clear in pointing out the major shortcomings in this field manifested by managerial groups and also by large groups of working people and the various generations. They reflected most unfavorably upon three issues: investment policy, farm policy and the link between productivity and the results of the work of individuals and enterprises and the level of wages and prices, as well as social services.

While during the initial period of the building of socialism it was justifiable to treat large-scale industrial investments (primarily in the industry of the means of production) as the best way of overcoming developmental problems, this has become less and less effective. Then, when an increase in prosperity became impossible without an increase in farming, views such as the principle that "this will remain after us forever" expressed by E. Gierek were a serious error that voluntaristically violated economic stability and the intensity of the use of what was already built.

Likewise, the failure to appreciate farming is an often encountered characteristic of societies that are industrialized early; however, as the years pass, this quality becomes more and more dangerous to them. In the final analysis, the resolution of the conflict between the city and the village to the detriment of farming leads to conflict situations among urban society. This is something we should not ignore even today.

Finally, errors in thinking and acting, particularly during the decade of the 1970's, that were the most frustrating to the masses, began with the slogan: "the state subsidizes you," and ended in the paternalistic "you receive because the architect of the second Poland cares about you"--although labor

productivity stopped growing and investment productivity declined dangerously. Instead of a better and better understanding and operation of the mechanisms of the link between individual work and the enterprise, its productivity and quality and the level of wages, market stability and the development of social welfare, the general conviction grew that the desirable phenomena depended upon the good will of the authorities and an increase in pretence and demagoguery accompanied poorer work. This included the working class communities, on both sides of the political barricade.

How consonant with this are the recommendations. [as published] of the commission report with the deep moral and ideological statement of this idea from the closing speech of the 13th KC Plenum: "The party does not have to be ingratiating. Its duty is to speak the truth and only the truth. Its obligation is to make the working class and the entire nation aware of both what is possible and what is necessary."

It should be noted that the ideas of the report are internally cohesive--both in the historical and suggestions sections--with regard to the issues of democracy and law and order and renewing and applying the ideas of Lenin in this field to Polish circumstances. In particular, when democracy and law and order are discussed within the party. It appears that these issues occupy the greatest space in the document in general and they are surely treated as the most important issues. [as published] To put it concisely, they concern the political culture of society and the party. Political culture is nothing more than the skill to act in a democracy and a law and order proper to society and the authorities. The subject matter of the history of the 40th anniversary shows very clearly the validity of Lenin's ideas on the objective necessity and the developmental patterns of democracy and law and order in socialism.

The necessary restriction of democracy and law and order occurred only in special, very brief periods of the history of socialism--namely, when the state of relations between socialism and capitalism assumed a martial character and when the fate of the authorities, of revolution or of counterrevolution hung in the balance. The failure to comprehend this, the carry-over of the methods for resolving such conflicts and clashes to other eras and attempts to settle the developmental conflicts of socialism through the use of state coercion cannot but lead to conflicts of the authorities with the working classes and strata. The historical experiences of the 40 years of People's Poland proves once again that replacing Lenin's approach to the laws of the class struggle with the Stalinist idea of its growth in intensity along with progress in socialism leads to the perversions and the illegalities of the sort that occurred in Poland at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's.

The October 1956 crisis was undoubtedly the most farreaching turn toward democracy and especially law and order. Its violations, endangering the security and lives of individuals, were never to be repeated. It was from this that the party drew its most in-depth ideological and political recommendations. But the development of the system of the state and intra-party democracy was quickly halted. This did not occur with the attack of

the class enemy of labor upon the second stage--the relapse of institutions and bourgeois solutions--but after he was already defeated, specifically after the Third Party Congress in 1959. This congress ought to have drawn deep conclusions from the crisis, but it was rescheduled several times and either did not do this, or did it only superficially. At a time when it ought to have looked for the roads of development of democracy proper to socialism in Poland, it pronounced dogmatism and conservatism as a fundamentally non-threatening danger, with no societal bases. It likewise seems that the contradictions inherent in the great individuality of W. Gomulka became apparent at this time. Certainly not without justification he feared that under the circumstances of the lack of economic and political stability, the expansion of the mechanisms and initiatives of democracy could introduce a spontaneous element into the economy and ideology that, given the frustration of the masses, even the working masses, could endanger the state and the Polish reason of state. At the same time, he threw onto the scale the weight of his authority and his spotless character in order to guard against anti-democratic practices in the party and the state. But why did he continue to act in this manner when society had already calmed down and the need clearly existed to increase economic development, or rather the processes of intensified farming?

The results were evident by the time of the Fourth Party Congress and revealed themselves in their full intensity in 1968, concluding with the December 1970 tragedy. Likewise in the personal tragedy of the great leader, the report calls to mind one of the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism, that "even the greatest mind and the strongest character are never in a position to replace the collective wisdom and group strength of the party and, following from this, that the process of the development of democracy in the party and the working-class state is an absolute necessity."

The pulsation of democracy during the entire historical period up to the Ninth Congress, its development following the period of crisis and its curtailment and sometimes even its regression during periods of social calm are especially disturbing phenomena that require a detailed analysis of the causes. For the weakening of socialist democracy is linked unequivocally with the phenomena of the violation of the ties of the party and the state authority with the working class and the entire society. During every such period, a tendency occurs toward the development of bureaucratic centralism and the concentration of decisions within ever narrower leadership bodies, the evasion of decision-making through the use of various forms of manipulations from under party and society's control and the restricted participation of even the broader masses of the political aktiv in authority.

What is the origin of the persistent return of the tendency toward the domination of small groups that are called the leadership in political jargon? Is it the leaders of the party and the government, i.e., those that direct both the party and the government (for the government itself is not the leadership but it is the led). This is sensed even more clearly when the leadership of the Central Committee, the voivodship committee and the plant committee as well are discussed. In other words, it is leadership in the hands of the highest authority, but highest only in theory and statutory law. An attribute of real leadership is the administration of the apparatus, and the apparatus itself



becomes a part of the leadership. In this structure, the KW [Voivodship Committee] instructor was more important than the KW members at the POP [Primary Party Organization] meeting and the instructor, and not the KW member, could speak with the authority of the KW leadership. Not even every member of the KW executive board was a member of the leadership, but only he who administered a given party or state apparatus that was under him. The executive boards of local committees also became party-state organs, grouping together the heads of the executory organs of state authority and the chairmen of the local echelons of major social organizations, in addition to the secretaries and the chairmen of party review commissions. The few that remained were there merely for the sake of ornamentation.

The Ninth Congress put a stop to this kind of structure and these methods of leadership, as well as to the practice of the pluralism of leadership functions within the party, the state system and social organizations. Nevertheless, is there not a return to this tendency today in more than one gmina [parish], city and voivodship? Such is the wisdom even today of more than one official in authority in the city or the voivodship: the most important thing is to place one's people in key positions, to exert strong control over the mass media, using them to promote a picture that is flattering to oneself and to vigilantly court higher-ups ("to get them in color"). Arrogance toward those that surround one and toward underlings is merely an inevitable consequence of such thinking and experiences that have their own sociological and psychological sources. What are these sources?

While the report does not reveal fully the sources of this tendency, it recommends clearly and unequivocally that it should be opposed and that the entire system of state and intraparty democracy, as well as the rule of law and law and order in the party and the state should be expanded. The catalog of the legal/systems-type solutions given in the introduction to the report indicates the field and methods of operation. At the same time, the role of the party as a source and model of democracy and law and order for the entire society and state system is irreplaceable. It must be said that the leading role of the party in society and its leadership role in the state are basically implemented through the development of the intraparty democracy and party unity.

The Ninth Congress proved how the party is ripe for democracy despite all its weaknesses and the responsibility for mistakes that weighs upon it. Under conditions of the apparent reign of spontaneity, the Ninth Congress prepared an important and wise resolution that passed the most difficult tests and elected the most active Central Committee and KC executory bodies ever. It also passed a statute that is the constitutional foundation of law and order in the internal life of the party. A basic value of the statute guaranteeing the party ideological and political-organizational unity is the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, or a special form of intraparty democracy.

The recommendations of the report are here a sort of development of the directions of thinking and acting recorded in the Ninth Congress resolutions, both regarding issues concerning the place of the party and its role in the state and society and the principles of intraparty life. The resolutions pointed out a vast field for future theoretical and ideological research and

expressed the urgency of this party need that was confirmed by the 13th KC Plenum. To tell the truth, before the Ninth Congress there was no such order made, nor did the related atmosphere of seeking an aktiv, scholars and ideologists from within the community exist. I view with sadness the lack of research in party scholarly-ideological centers by the turn of the 1950's/1960's on the motives people had for entering the party and for becoming active in its ranks and the problems of the party's leadership role, democratic centralism and the Leninist principles of the party's operation (it was at this time that we first put our ideas on this subject into print), or even by the turn of the 1960's/1970's, when we first attempted scholarly studies and when we built the first scientific centers for party knowledge.

The report aptly treats cadre policy as a function of the development of democracy. However, the analysis of this field of party work and authority, correctly recognized as the least successful part of the processes of the building of socialism thus far, is one of the weakest in the report, both in the historical-analytical and suggestions sections. Here also the 13th KC Plenum took a step in the direction of the growth of knowledge in this field. There is no doubt, however, that the mechanisms of so-called negative selection had their origin in the concentration of initiatives to fill leadership positions by creating a cadre policy monopoly in the hands of small groups. The "party-state leadership" described previously promoted and evaluated cadres according to their suitability for their own limited interests, i.e., according to their so-called discretion. At the same time, the broad party aktiv, party committees and POP's were not permitted to assess the individual suitability of candidates recommended by the party for leadership positions and to evaluate the results of their work. The commission report, on the other hand, analyzes more extensively the damage resulting from the drawing away from the effective influence of the Sejm, people's councils and self-governing bodies upon the filling of the leadership positions of the echelons and organizations of the allied parties and representative organs.

One may anticipate criticism of the reticence of the report regarding the description of group tendencies in the various periods of party history as well as its restraint regarding the passing of judgment on leaders responsible for false economic, ideological-political and cadre decisions in the past, particularly those responsible for the use of force against the striking workers and street mobs in Poznan in 1956 and on the Coast in 1970. I can find no other explanation for this reticence than the limited availability of information at the time, information that is still inconclusive today even with a maximal research effort, due to the incomplete availability of sources. The commission report presented the course of the tragic events in Poznan and on the Coast with a thoroughness to be marveled upon. These events show the consequences of the operation of bad economic and political mechanisms and the enormous play of spontaneity and accident, and against this background, the role and the responsibility of the leaders. Thus, the recommendations are applicable both to people and systems. And this is how the report proceeds. On the other hand, the apodictic statements that make their way into the various weekly publications that always indicate that a decisive role in all political events of our history is played by group interests and the diabolical cunning of conspirators is far from true, sometimes even lamentable and generally marked by the stamp of a particular group consciousness.

During the period of preparations for the Ninth Congress and after, the party was very severe in its treatment of those in its ranks that misused their leadership positions for their private gain and that gave in to the demoralization of getting rich at the expense of society. The cases were decided openly and sometimes in an atmosphere of agitation. This left many injustices to be corrected. Agitation is the enemy of justice. The wishes of the crowd, even if universal, may not be the basis of law and order. It is not only socialism that has proved this.

The man on the street would be only too happy to see the people that the Ninth Congress expelled from the party and dismissed from their social positions due to the special responsibility they bore for serious errors made in guiding the party and state be guilty of annexing property and of taking large sums of money from private citizens. But they are not guilty of this. Their guilt here is perhaps more damaging in its consequences than any other: they gave everyone on credit more than he earned. Unfortunately, such an offense--basically one of trifling amounts and inanities--is not examined in any penal code, nor can it be. Meanwhile, the most severe punishments--social censure and infamy--were meted out in moral and political-civic categories. Those at the highest positions of authority that perpetrated violations of the Constitution and the laws will be brought to constitutional justice in all the majesty of law and order. This takes time everywhere that it is really observed.

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If I were to quote the most apt conclusion drawn in the report, I would cite this one: "The fundamental guarantee guarding Poland against the possibility that crisis situations may be repeated is the assertiveness and consistency of the entire party--its members, organizations and echelons, in implementing the totality of the Ninth Congress program."

By speaking the truth about the past, the KC commission report appointed to explain the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland wishes to serve the future. And the future places before Poland an extremely difficult and responsible calling. It will be decided during the course of the life of the present generation whether we will participate along with socialism successfully in the race for peace, wisdom, nobility and prosperity or whether, continuing the state of national frustration, we will consider ourselves divorced from sober thinking and efficient, hard work and we will doom ourselves to humiliation and backwardness.

8536

CSO: 2600/383

POLAND

INITIAL STAGES OF REPORTS-ELECTION CAMPAIGN REPORTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 25, 1983 p 7

[Article by Tadeusz Kolodziejczyk: "First Conclusions"]

[Text] The basic stage of the reports-election campaign--in the groups, in the OOP's and POP's (the branch party organizations and basic party organizations)--is over and the plant, gmina and city conferences have started. In the provinces the initial evaluation of the campaign is being made and conclusions formulated for its continuation.

On 23 November 1983 the Intraparty Commission of the Central Committee got acquainted with the procedure of the campaign until that time and, following a discussion, accepted its initial appraisal.

We shall try to point out the basic elements of the campaign and the ensuing conclusions, remembering that the campaign is still running, the situation changing almost from day to day, while the production cycle of a biweekly does not allow us to receive the most recent data. The numerical data at our disposal are from 21 November 1983.

Let us start then from numbers, since of all the elements of the campaign these are the easiest to assess.

Until 21 November 1983 reports-elections meetings of the party groups took place in 93.2 percent of the groups. At that time meetings were already concluded in 40 provinces, and in the remaining ones they were coming to the end. The attendance of those meetings was on the average 70 percent: starting from 51 and up in Bielski-Biala and from 55 and up in Kielce, Plock, Rzeszow, Tarnobrzeg, Walbrzych. There was a substantial number of meetings at which the attendance reached 100 percent.

More than 30 percent of the attending members of the groups took part in the discussions. At the time of the campaign 496 new groups were founded, which proves the growth of the organizational structures as a result of local needs.

In the group elections newly-elected comrades comprise 34.7 percent, with the rest elected for a second time.

The report-election meetings of POP's and OOP's took place in 73.1 percent (in certain cases from 51 percent to almost 100 percent). On the average, about 30 percent of the members of POP's took part in the discussions, but with a large variation: from 5 percent at some meetings in Jelenia Gora and Konin Provinces to 100 percent in the small POP's.

During the meetings in 2,429 POP's and OOP's a decision was made to cross out 4653 members and to remove 72.

Workers comprise 28.2 percent of the hitherto elected first secretaries of the POP's is the result of the large number of village POP's in the organizational structure of the party (51 percent).

Among the newly elected first secretaries of POP's and OOP's, 7.9 percent are young people, below the age of 29, while the percentage of youth in the total party membership is 11.1 percent.

A definite majority of the elected POP first secretaries (85.6 percent) have been party members for over 5 years.

A total of 34.3 percent were elected for the first time to fulfill the functions of first secretaries of POP's and OOP's.

Of the executive boards of POP's and OOP's elected so far, workers comprise 35.4 percent and peasants 14 percent. A total of 44.8 percent of those elected to POP and OOP administrations were elected for the first time.

In the plant organizations the report-election meetings or conferences took place in 39 percent of organizations, with attendance varying between 51 and 100 percent. A total of 10 to 15 percent of the participants took part in the discussions.

In plant organizations with fewer than 1000 members, 64 audit committees and 44 committees of party control were elected.

Of the 124 party members who were candidates for the administration and were not delegates, 65 were elected.

Before 21 November, report-election meetings and conferences of organizations at the basic level were started in 15 provinces: 78 at the gmina level, 3 city gmina and 2 city. The average attendance at the gmina conferences was 86 percent, at the city conferences 70 percent.

Of the participants taking part in the debates, the percentage of workers was 18.5, of peasants 31.8, of the labor brigade 30, of mid-level controllers 11.4.

In organizations with fewer than 1000 members, 80 audit committees and 17 party control committees were selected.

At all the conferences of those organizations, there were 17 cases of candidacy for administrative positions, control bodies and delegates to provincial conferences of comrades who were not delegates, and only one of those was not elected.

What were those meetings and conferences? The campaign was run according to the outline of the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee, even though with some variations as a result of the accepted timetables and preparations for an effective campaign.

The reports of the outgoing executive boards are showing the whole body of POP activities, taking also into consideration decisions made at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee and directives of the Politburo with regard to the campaign.

From information delivered by the provincial committees it is evident that the tone of the meetings was serious, positive, realistic and relevant to the subjects under discussion. The debates were lively, deliberate and critical. The problems discussed were mainly those of speakers' own enterprises and immediate environment. Even the reintroduction of the rationing of fats and proposals of price increases of food products submitted for consultation did not dominate the procedure. Of course these problems were discussed, but in a wider context, that of the functioning of our whole national economy. The tone of the discussion was characterized by great care and sense of responsibility.

In that context a lively debate took place about the problems of good economics, careful utilization of raw materials and other materials, improvement of labor organization, increase in production, national use of labor, fluctuation of pay and cost of living, especially groups with low wages. In that connection members of the party expressed their criticism of speculation and unusual accumulation of wealth as a result of too widely spread private initiative. This phenomenon is clearly contrary to the socialist idea of social justice, calling for a decisive reaction on the part of the authorities and society.

A considerable part of the meetings was devoted to the problems of strengthening the position and authority of the POP's in the enterprise and environment.

Members of the party were judged according to their attitude and participation in the realization of the policy of the party and fulfilling their party duties. Members who manifest passive and fearful attitudes were criticized.

Widely debated were matters of the working of the party, especially the raising of party discipline, presence and active participation in meetings, dues payment, participation in party schooling, being active in social organizations. Especially strong emphasis was put on the necessity of party members belonging to trade unions, to become active in their activities.

In printed matter as well as in discussions at many meetings many problems were touched upon. In connection with the decision of the 13 Plenum of the Central Committee the role of POP's in the area of ideological work was clearly outlined. In criticism of the deficiencies of party education, it was urged that its standard be raised and the subjects under discussion popularized. While evaluating the leading cadres, a decision was made to encompass them within systematic party education. The need was perceived to organize separate political schooling for members of the mid-level technical control group, foremen and brigade leaders who have the widest contact with the regular workers and the most influence on their moods and attitudes.

At a large number of meetings there was a call for an increase in current political information for the needs of POP's, especially in international relations of state and church, social moods, and the activity of the political adversary.

It is still too early for an "in-depth" analysis of the reports-election campaign. It is being performed at this time by party echelons at the gmina and city meetings and also in the process of preparations for the upcoming provincial conferences.

Still, the introductory evaluation prepared by the Organizational Department of the Central Committee debated on by the Intraparty Commission of the Central Committee does not cover up the fact that whatever took place during the campaign so far is proclaiming an increase in the party activity. The rational criticism characteristic at the meetings and conferences is directed first of all toward participants' own organizations and closest environment. Only the estimation and evaluation of the participants' own attitudes became the point of departure for judgments and conclusions of a wider character, in matters pertaining to the whole society. This atmosphere of sensible and relevant discussion is confirmed in the proclaimed programs of action aiming at the realization of the goals prescribed by the 13th and 14th Plenum of the Central Committee.

The following special matters are also worth mentioning.

Workers comprised 46 percent of the delegates to the plant conferences, which is a very positive occurrence. But still the participation of workers among the delegates to the city and gmina conferences is smaller.

No refusal to become a candidate for an administrative position was observed. The rules of elections were endorsed even though here there were doubts about the necessity of the secret ballot in electing POP first secretaries.

During some of the meetings the urge to conduct the meetings effectively and cut the time of their duration seemed more important than the subject matter: and so the naming of candidates and voting took place before the discussion in order to give the control commission time to count the votes during the general discussion. This made the meeting less important and distorted its sense because only after a general evaluation of the outgoing

authorities can one decide who deserves a second term. This practice was decidedly opposed by the Intraparty Commission of the Central Committee.

On the positive side of this campaign we must add the fact that there were no cases of repeating a meeting caused by the lack of a quorum, while during the previous campaign this happened at 20 percent of the meetings.

Finally, there is this extremely important matter, which pertains to all party organizations for which--at the time we are writing these words--the campaign is over, namely the matter of the resolutions arrived at during those meetings--their realization cannot be put off till tomorrow. It is necessary to review them very carefully, to distribute the tasks among the responsible comrades in the management of the enterprises and institutions' party members in our governing body and trade unions, so that the realistic procedure of the reports-election conference is upheld in equally realistic and diligent action from the very beginning of the administration's new term.

12470

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WARSAW CRIME STATISTICS DISCUSSED

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish No 250, 21 Dec 83 p 3

[Interview with Col Eng Edward Klosowski, director of SUSW [Warsaw Office Internal Affairs] by Witold Jackiewicz; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] How safe does the capital and its province appear to be, and in this regard, how does Warsaw compare with the rest of the nation?

[Answer] Unfortunately, according to statistics, crime has increased by nearly 18 percent. During the first 3 quarters of this year, we have registered 41,000 criminal cases, while in the same period last year 35,000 were reported. On the national scale, the capital and its province show the highest number of felonies. It is the most dangerous region in the country. During the 1983 period mentioned, 1,741 cases per 100,000 inhabitants have been registered. This figure is double the national average.

[Question] Which are the most frequent crimes at the present time?

[Answer] Generally, personal property thefts lead in the total number of crimes committed. In the greater metropolitan area of Warsaw we receive a daily average of: 140 cases of breaking and entering into private quarters, 30 incidents of personal property theft, 15 breaking and enterings into public premises, 10 public property thefts. Murder is committed every 10th day, rape every third and personal injuries once a day.

[Question] When will we be able to move about in Warsaw safely?

[Answer] This will be impossible as long as criminals and the threat of this element's actions exist. The capital is a large city and for that reason it attracts individuals seeking an easy way of living, as is evident in any large aggregation. We concentrate our efforts on providing the best possible safety conditions for the city. We are systematically improving the city and provincial safety organizations through the introduction of many new rudiments into our services and the utilization of the most modern techniques, together with a systematic training program for

our staffs. We could accomplish much more if it weren't for the troublesome staff situation. We have too many vacancies, especially in the uniform division. The capital's citizenry could be of great assistance to us.

[Question] How do you envision this help?

[Answer] I would consider the creation of a self-defensive protection system to be an action which would serve their own interest. With unconcealed happiness we welcome such initiatives, if only to have the parking lots patrolled by the citizens, protection of stores in outlying and inner city locations, formation of neighborhood committees for the protection of their homes in the vacation seasons. Indifference and selfishness has to be eliminated, and we have to realize that public property is our property.

Direct public assistance is essential for the implementation of our basic functions, as, for instance, our investigations. I would like to remind you of the well-publicized case of the kidnapping of little Ania from in front of Universam on Grochowska street. To a large degree, thanks to the cooperation of the public, we were able to learn many details.

[Question] Let us not try to conceal the fact that the MO [Citizens' Militia] and its officers do not have much standing with the public. Does the possibility exist for members of the militia to be accepted as friends of all respectable citizens?

[Answer] There are two apparent attitudes of society toward the militia. The first one is a general realization that the existence of this organization and the acceptance of its actions in certain crucial situations is indispensable. Simply stated, this is a demand of the public for assistance. The second one is the situation where the militia acts as the enforcer of legal statutes.

I think that the majority of honest citizens consider us sympathetically, especially when we are successful in protecting their lives, health and property. At such times we hear pleasant words of thanks and well-wishing. However it does happen that a law-abiding citizen gets into a conflict with the law, for instance, if he is responsible for a traffic accident. In a situation where he may face severe and unrelenting consequences, the citizen may feel threatened and fearful about the fairness of the decision which may be made regarding his case.

I would like to emphasize the fact that militia officers who violate the rules or principles of social coexistence are dismissed from the MO.

[Question] What recruitment procedures are followed in filling MO vacancies in the law and order, highway patrol or special services? Many rumors and myths are circulating upon this subject.

[Answer] Work in the MO organization is relatively difficult but very interesting, having attraction and bringing satisfaction. Recruitment for all of the services is conducted openly. Candidates for positions in the

MO organizations have to meet certain criteria: up to 30 years of age, with at least the minimum of the required professional education, fulfillment of military obligation, possession of A-1 military classification. As to the "myths," there is no room for them here.

12306

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## MILITARY SERVICE REGULATIONS OUTLINED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 45, 6 Nov 83 p 21

[Text] Obligatory military service results from the principle of universal responsibility for the national defense (see ZOLNIERZ POLSKI No 38, 18 Sep 83). Citizens have this responsibility in peacetime as well as in the event of mobilization or martial law and in time of war.

Obligatory military service in peacetime consists in: (1) completion of basic military service by conscripts; (2) participation in military classes and training by students and graduate students of institutions of higher education; (3) performance of military exercises and temporary military service by reservists.

In the event of mobilization, during martial law, and in time of war, obligatory military service consists in conscripts' and reservists' completing active military service without a fixed time limit.

Within the framework of obligatory military service, conscripts can complete--instead of basic military service--conscript substitute service or basic service in civil defense (conscript training in civil defense).

Those subject to obligatory military service are Polish citizens (men physically and mentally qualified to serve) beginning from 1 January of the calendar year in which they complete their 18th year of age to the end of the calendar year in which they complete their 50th year of age (those possessing warrant officer's or officer's rank--to their 60th year of age). Women are subject to this obligation if they possess qualifications useful in military service (for example, medical qualifications).

Basic military service is the fundamental type of obligatory military service. In general, conscripts are called into it between the ages of 19 and 24. If for reasons independent of the military organs the conscripts cannot be called up during that time, then he can be called into basic military service until the end of the calendar year in which he completes his 28th year of age.

Basic military service lasts for 24 months, but in navigation, rocket and radio-technical units it lasts for 36 months.

Military service for students and graduate students of institutions of higher education consists in participating in military classes during their studies and in undergoing a period of military training when they are free from their studies at the school of higher education and after they have graduated.

Students taking military classes are not soldiers in active military service, but are subject to military discipline and are obligated to comply with the principles of soldierly conduct defined in military regulations.

The period of military training (in opposition to military classes) is a form of active military service and can be short term (up to 3 months) or long term (up to 12 months).

The long-term period of military training consists in participation in classes in officer cadet schools in the reserve (SPR) and in practical training in military units.

Military exercises are a form of obligatory military service for reservists. During the exercises the reservists go through theoretical-practical training in the military specializations to which they have been assigned.

Military exercises can be 1 day long (from 6 to 24 hours in time free from work), short term (from 2 to 30 days), and long term (more than 30 days).

The combined time of duration for all types of exercises (for the entire period the soldier remains in the reserve) cannot be longer than 24 months for officers and warrant officers, 18 months for noncommissioned officers and 12 months for the rank-and-file.

Temporary military service--like military exercises--is also a form of obligatory military service for reservists. The combined time of its duration cannot exceed 24 months for the entire period the soldier remains in the reserve. Reservists (noncommissioned officers, warrant officers and officers) are called into this service.

Obligatory basic military service can be replaced by completing conscript substitute service, basic service in civil defense, or by participating in conscript training in civil defense. These forms of fulfilling obligatory military service are not military service, and those completing it are not soldiers; however, persons who have completed one of these services are no longer called into basic military service.

Conscript substitute service consists in doing work in social institutions of health service, social welfare, environmental protection and public utility. While serving, conscripts are trained in the field of civil defense. Conscript substitute service lasts for 24 months, and conscripts are entitled to pay and other sums allowed for soldiers of basic service; they can be quartered in barracks.

Basic service in civil defense consists in completing tasks in civil defense. It lasts for 24 months and is performed in specially created OC [Civil Defense] detachments. While serving, conscripts have the title of "junak," wear special uniforms and are quartered in barracks.

Conscript training in civil defense lasts for 3 years. Training classes are organized during time free from work and in a training camp for a period of 30 days. The combined time of conscript training in OC detachments cannot exceed 60 days a year, in which 20 days are by law free from work.

Professional military service is performed by virtue of a special obligation created upon a soldier's request to be called into that service and upon consideration of this request of the military organs.

A citizen having the suitable moral and political qualities, occupational qualifications and psychological and physical capability can be a professional soldier. Call-up to this service is based exclusively on the soldier's request. The first 12 months of this service is a trial period. In general, professional military service is performed without a fixed time limit.

Professional soldiers make up a professional cadre of the armed forces; it consists of three corps--professional officers, warrant officers and non-commissioned officers.

The military service of candidates for professional soldier includes those studying in military schools preparing people for professional military service, i.e., those studying in professional noncommissioned officers' schools, warrant officers' schools, institutions of higher education for officers and military academies.

9451

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NEGATIVE ATTITUDES OF YOUNG SERVICEMEN DISCUSSED

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 11, Nov 83 pp 58-31

[Article by Pplk mgr Jozef Pawlowski: "Causes Underlying the Formation of Negative Attitudes in Relations Among Soldiers in Basic Military Service"]

[Text] The author assess the interests of youth prior to enlistment (controversially), after which he presents proposals concerning the forms and methods of development of difficult soldiers. It is true that they are not based on research, but owing to the originality of the proposals they may provide subject matter for discussion in military training and development circles.

In reviewing the current aspirations of young people prior to enlistment and the possibilities of fulfilling them in the current socioeconomic situation in Poland, we should state that military service in general and basic military service in particular fall far from the top of the hierarchy of these young people's needs. Military service is treated as a burdensome obligation which is a barrier to meeting other, higher aspirations. For this reason a negative attitude to military service prevails in this group along with the desire to get through without any real commitment or effort.

Only a small group of young people, those with meager prospects intellectually, a group which did not acquire a vocation prior to military service, accepts this service as a way making it possible to acquire a vocation. Unfortunately they too often wind up in units (detachments) that do not provide such possibilities (for example, defense, guard). Their initial acceptance of military service soon changes therefore into a negative attitude.

It is very rare to find people with attitudes of acceptance towards military service stemming from ideological-patriotic motives or the motive of the self-realization possibilities created by military service (young people with such attitudes usually wind up in military technical schools).

There is also a group of young people whose attitude to military service could be called undetermined. They have an attitude of expectation, which becomes clearer in the course of military service.

In all these groups, during the course of military service, important positive and negative changes occur, depending on the conditions. They depend to a great extent on the human relations prevailing in the military unit, mainly personnel lines, between cadres and enlisted men, and in relations prevailing among the men themselves. The human relations prevailing among professional soldiers have a great impact on the latter human relations. Bad relations, for example, bring about negative attitudes such as ever-deepening dissatisfaction with the activity undertaken and ultimately lead to a negative attitude toward the institution of the army and therefore to careless disregard for the duties which one's position implies and for the functions one performs (the person pretends to perform them). Thus, human relations among cadres have an impact among the soldiers in two ways:

in relations between cadres and enlisted men in basic service, and  
by transferring phenomena occurring among the cadres to the soldiers' area.

In the first case it is the duty of the cadres (superiors), for example, to be aware of the existing relations and to structure them in an active manner in keeping with the needs of the military, the unit, and the subdetachment. A superior who does not perform his duties properly will also perform them improperly in this realm, and this fact cannot fail to have an impact on the relations which prevail among the soldiers in basic military service.

In the latter case, the negative attitudes occurring among the cadres are noted by the soldiers and reproduced in their own area. The fact that they soak in so easily is largely the result of the specific detailed relations that occur between the cadres and the soldiers during the joint performance of all-day combat service and the dependency stemming from using complicated technical equipment together.

The manifestation of good or bad relations among cadres can be assessed from the viewpoint of both the culture of getting along together and the culture of leadership. The culture of leadership is related to all the problematics connected to inadequacies in the functioning of leadership systems, which have a direct or indirect impact, always a negative one, on leadership style in subordinate units, and subdetachments, and this cannot help but have an impact both on relations among cadres but also in the relationship between the cadre (superior) and the soldiers and between one soldier and another (when we use the term "soldier" we have in mind soldiers in basic military service).

Because of the objective conditions that exist, tactical relationships are involved in directing subordinate detachments, largely through technical means of communication. This is understandable and basically proper. The situation is different when a lower echelon adopts this same system. This cannot help but have an influence on the way tasks are carried out and on the human relations within the group of people. The bad which follows from this, its extent,



will depend on the personality of the subdetachment's commanding officer. Active, committed individuals who are well prepared to carry out leadership responsibilities, and who are highly disciplined and independent will do better with the deformities that result, but the impact of this situation will be greater on individuals who are less prepared and who do not show initiative.

Nonetheless it is not only errors in leadership and authority which have a powerful (and often negative) impact on human relations in groups of soldiers. Lack of knowledge is worse here still, but there are many reasons why human relations are not well understood. They are complex and not fully known. The following are among the basic causes:

Most soldiers have accepted the concrete manifestations of improper relations during the initial period of service and consciously hide them from superiors, with the idea that this is a temporary period at the end of which they will gain certain informal rights:

Soldiers who do not agree to this state of affairs and tell the superiors (the cases are very rare) are oppressed by the other soldiers, and there is no way to fully protect them from this, which fact in turn creates conditions in which the oppressed soldier once again decides not to tell superiors, with the idea that ("it must be this way and nothing can be done about it");

Inability to find out about these problems, or often the lack of interest on the part of many commanders;

The flood of nondevelopmental requirements and duties facing the commanders of subdetachments makes some of them accept this state of affairs (and treat it as an aid in maintaining discipline in the unit);

Platoon (team) leaders are mainly technical personnel (commanders of equipment) who face many technical problems related to using modern equipment and who have less time for moral training and development, which is rarely appreciated from the viewpoint of the pedagogic results achieved (for example, in the radio engineering armies, they are mainly rated on the operating effectiveness of the equipment);

Cadres below the officer level, people who after all bear responsible duties in moral training and development, are not at all prepared in this area;

Team leaders are for the most part older soldiers who are often accepting of this state of affairs themselves and sometimes even take an active part in it. It is therefore understandable that they seek various ways and methods to see that they and their fellows go unpunished.

The above-mentioned causes clearly show that the problem is a complex one. The analysis does not exhaust the subject of the cause-and-effect relationships which underlie the formation and operation of negative attitudes in human relations between soldiers in basic military service, but it may serve as a basis for deeper study and for the development of a program of action to eliminate or at least partially combat the most important causes and circumstances underlying the negative attitudes (see Table 1).

Table 1. Sample Program of Action to Remove Negativity in Human Relations  
(Among Soldiers in Basic Military Service)

[1.=Type of negative phenomenon. 2.=Manifestation and probable causes.  
3.=Proposed method of elimination (remedy).]

I.

1. Negative attitude to military service
  2. Low place military service holds in the hierarchy of needs of youth prior to being called up
  3. Direct the best leaders (persons responsible for development) and political assistants to subdetachments training new enlistees.  
Direct political-development work towards detecting negative attitudes among new enlistees.  
Shape motivation for military service by expanding the lecture program in the schools.

II.

1. Adverse influence of human relations among cadres on the relations among the soldiers.
  2. Transfer of poor human relations from cadres to soldier groups.
  3. Recognize causes of poor human relations among cadres and apply remedies to combat them.  
Inculcate in professional soldiers the principle that information about cadre attitudes should not be imparted while soldiers in basic service are present.  
Discuss negative attitudes in the groups in which they occur.
2. Improper performance of duties by cadres (superiors) in the realm of the formation of proper norms of conduct among soldiers.
  3. Make a thorough analysis of cadres' suitability to hold leadership positions and make personnel decisions.  
Make greater use of material consequences to influence cadres handling leadership and development functions.

III.

1. Inadequacies in the operation of the leadership system and improper style of command.
  2. Improper style of directing radio engineering company on the part of the radio engineering battalion.
    3. Establish the principles of frequent direct contact between the command of the detachment and that of the subdetachments.  
Establish the absolute limits in terms of kilometers for direct contacts and not permit them to be used for any other purpose.
2. Lack of leadership (command) skills in the leadership of many subdetachments.
  3. See that the commanders of subdetachments (companies) receive training at teaching courses.  
Make a thorough analysis of various company commanders' suitability for the positions they hold.

IV.

1. Party-political machinery's incomplete understanding of current human relations situations among soldiers in basic service.
  2. Conscious acceptance and hiding of instances of poor human relations.
    3. Establish procedures for informing commanders and political officers of violations of principles of conduct.  
Make an exact analysis of attitude and take appropriate action.
  2. Flood of nondevelopment duties entrusted to commanders of subdetachments.
    3. Relieve company commanders of all work not related to the command of the subdetachments.
  2. Constant preparation of cadres below the officer level to be familiar with and structure proper human relations.
    3. Create system of incentives for cadres below the officer level to complete their secondary education.  
Adopt the principle that the most experience political officers will conduct political exercises with them.
  2. Improper selection of soldiers to the position of team leader.
    3. In selecting soldiers to command teams, link the informal moral authority they have attained with their formal authority.  
From November to December set up political training groups in the sub-detachments, groups to be made up of team leaders, and train them according to the program for basic service petty officers.

10790

CSO: 2600/511

MILITARY TECHNICAL ACADEMY ACTIVITIES REVIEWED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 10-11 Dec 83 p 4

[Interview with Brig Gen (professor, doctor habilitatus and engineer) Edward Wlodarczyk, deputy commandant of the Military Technical Academy (WAT) on scientific affairs, by Maj Stanislaw Lukaszewski; date and place not specified]

[Text] ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: The defense capability of every country is a function of its economic, scientific, engineering, etc., potential. What contribution does the Military Technical Academy (WAT) make to these fields?

[Answer] General Wlodarczyk: Military engineering is linked inseparably with the overall progress in the exact and technical sciences. It is because of this that the armed forces of our country have the necessary scientific and engineering potential. The Military Technical Academy also makes up this potential. The present state of the school, from both the organization and cadre standpoint and the standpoint of technical equipment, evolved as a result of processes taking place in our teaching-upbringing and scientific-research activities. The WAT potential is well-organized shops and scientific laboratories in which the whole of contemporary knowledge and correct work methodology is mastered. It is, above all, an earnest, substantively well-prepared, creative scientific cadre with scientific degrees and titles.

[Question] The primary task of a military school, therefore that of the WAT, is to train military specialists, continually raise and improve the scientific qualifications of the cadre, and develop scientific-research work which will meet the needs of the military and make a significant contribution to the development of the national economy.

[Answer] How well military engineers are trained depends on how well the academic cadre is prepared professionally. Hence the simple relationship between the teaching-upbringing process and scientific-research activity. One cannot be a good teacher if one is not also creative in science. Effective teaching requires the ability to teach, appropriate ethical attitude, great professional skill, as well as a particular discipline in creative work. The academic cadre can only achieve these qualities in active scientific-research work.

[Question] And what about WAT's research program, General?

[Answer] We are developing both basic and applied research because we are convinced of the conventionality and elasticity of the boundary that exists between them. Problems of cognition and application (practical) are closely interrelated and their results interpenetrate.

Basic research lays the foundation for developmental research and for the growth of the scientific qualifications of the cadre. But this work must be closely related to the general trends in the development of science, engineering and the national economy. Only these conditions make it possible not to lose sight of the future usefulness of the results of basic work, and at the same time, make it possible to make a contribution to science. Hence in our school, in addition to pure basic research, most of the applied work contains elements of cognition. Such a policy makes it easier for us to develop scientific groups harmoniously and also guarantees that the technical solutions will be up-to-date.

[Question] We know of the achievements of Polish mechanics and its world influence. The WAT scientists also have a part in this. Please tell us about these achievements.

[Answer] After 32 years of existence we can say that the Polish Military Academy made a large contribution to Polish science, and several scientific disciplines have become our specialty. The resonance of unstationary waves in a plastic medium, the problems of propagation and interaction of stress waves on objects, the propagation of shock and detonation waves and their influence on barriers on land or in water, the physics of explosion, the theory of combined electro-magneto-thermo-mechanical fields, the new concept of the theory of heat conductivity and quantum mechanics, cognitive work on metals fatigue--these are the problems that the WAT cadre is solving. They have become a permanent part of specialized world literature. Basic research being conducted in the Academy is extremely important in the development of Polish radar. Results of research on treatment of background-interference radar signals and digital simulation of a radar situation have made the WAT the main scientific center in Poland in this field.

One of the newest scientific disciplines in our school is image-transmitting and integrated optics. Although the group studying this is just beginning, it already has made some concrete achievements in basic research. It is also hoped that they will have broader technical application in the immediate future.

[Question] The results of your research in materials engineering and in the field of new physical and chemical phenomena in materials are known.

[Answer] Work on the photoelectric properties of semiconductors, whisker composites of metals reinforced with coal fibers, and liquid-crystal substances, is expanding our knowledge, but it is also making it possible to develop new materials with envisaged properties not only on a macroscopic scale but also at the level of molecular and atomic structure.

[Question] Early in the 1960's a group was formed in the WAT which concerned itself with research in quantum electronics...

[Answer] The first gas laser in the country was put into operation here, followed by a ruby laser. Since then research in quantum electronics is bringing more and more new results. They pertain to lasing materials, biological and mechanical reaction of laser radiation, and radiation propagation in various media.

[Question] Then work began on the physics of plasma and laser thermonuclear microsynthesis.

[Answer] In our laboratories under the direction of Brig Gen (professor) Kaliski we obtained a generation of neutrons from thermonuclear synthesis in a plasma generated by a strong laser pulse. Only a few countries in the world, with the most highly developed science, can boast of this kind of achievement. Research on this was continued later in the Institute of Plasma Physics and Laser Microsynthesis, which was established from groups in the WAT.

[Question] And the input into the development of engineering cybernetics?

[Answer] Work on these systems, the methods of identifying them, the determination of mathematical models and algorithms for controlling technological processes, and research on the theory of optimizing production and operation has brought concrete results. They make up part of the scientific achievements in this discipline.

[Question] I believe that most of the WAT research potential is involved in applications work.

[Answer] Our basic task in this area is obviously to meet the needs of the military and the defense industry. Nevertheless, we are doing work for the direct use of the national economy and assigning almost 25 percent of our performance capability to this end.

The applications work is directly linked with the current and anticipated requirements of the military and the national economy. This work transforms theoretical achievements into technical practice. In addition to solving the specific problems defined by those doing the ordering, this work makes it possible for us to modernize the laboratory and executive potential and thus improve the qualifications of the cadre. The executive groups are made up of most of the school's cadre, which focuses its efforts on solving theoretical problems and on organizing and directing technical-design work, including with cooperating institutions. Authorized representatives of those who will apply the results and use the given product participate in the majority of the jobs.

Our activities in the field of applications work are reflected in new constructions and in the modernization of equipment, in the progress being made in production technology, in product-quality improvement, in improvements in operating methods and technical service, in increased reliability and longer life, and in the construction of new research apparatus.

[Question] Please mention some of your most important work.

[Answer] The WAT Institute of Engineering Physics is working with the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Physics on the technology and use of image-transmitting structures and planar optics elements, as well on the technology of layers and BGO and BSO single crystals. Our Optoelectronics Institute together with the Polish Academy of Sciences' (PAN) Space Research Center is working on a second-generation satellite range-finder, designed for precise measurement of distance to geodesic artificial Earth satellites. Joint research is also being done on scanning. In connection with the "Interspace" program, the WAT is also taking part in the development of an apparatus complex designed study Earth and is involved with making infrared radiometric measurements.

WAT groups are working on many subjects connected with the "Resistance and Optimization of Machine and Building Structures", coordinated by the PAN Institute for Basic Technical Problems. Work in the field of metals fatigue, optimization of structures and mechanical vehicles, has been awarded prizes, including an award by the PAN scientific secretary. We play a large part in solving crucial and interministerial problems, e.g., in studies on "Acoustical Methods in Engineering and Medicine." I could cite many more such examples. Our work mainly pertains to problems of construction and technology, new applications or substitute materials, and many issues which determine the accomplishment of production assignments. The results of scientific-research activity are the input of military engineering ideas into the country's economic development.

[Question] Military scientific-research activity is directed mainly at satisfying the long-range and current needs of the individual branches of the military. But military engineering is closely related to the needs of the country...

[Answer] Hence everything that is in the lead in military engineering penetrates into the national economy. For example, methods for studying the reliability of military vehicle equipment has been applied to the needs of transportation and civilian transport. Within the framework of engineering cybernetics large systems are being built for the military, and at the same time a number of hybrid machines are being made for the economy--machines which combine the features of analogue computers and electronic digital computers. Military scientific-research centers have entered into many specific understandings and agreements with particular ministries and associations on cooperation, and these form the basis for scientific work being done. For example, new concepts on remote control of machinery by lasers are being developed, on adaptation of machines for low-temperature operation, etc. All kinds of complex problems are being solved, e.g., studies for the motorization industry covering research and calculation methods, optimization of structural parameters, selection of construction and operation materials, studies on multifuel combustion engines, vehicle tires, the dynamics of suspension, accelerated running-in of engines, increased reliability and life of vehicles.

[Question] Can we talk about specific research, structural and technological solutions? Have any of them yet been applied in industry?

[Answer] In the WAT Aviation Engineering Institute theoretical research methods and computer programs have been developed to calculate a number of aircraft propulsion parameters. They are being used in work connected with the design

and modification of engines in the Aircraft Propulsion Research Center in Rzeszow. A method which has been developed for measuring the temperature of pistons is being used in the study of engines at the Aviation Institute. Jointly with the Transportation Equipment Research and Development Center in Swidnik the construction of an inlet-air dust-collector for Mi-2 and W-4 helicopter engines has been developed. A design for ventilating and heating, and aerodynamic study of domestic-construction buses, type H-9 and their offshoots, has been developed. The construction and technology of a light geodesic mast using glued joints has been developed. Prototypes of metal cryostats to store and transport blood and biological tissue have been designed and tested.

In the Theoretical Mechanics and Materials Resistance Department a system of numerical programs has been developed to analyze the resistance of constructions and the deformation and stresses in three-dimensional structures, especially by optical methods. The results are being used by the Boilers and Power Industry Equipment Factory Research and Development Center in Tarnowskie Gory, in the Industrial Motorization Institute in Warsaw, in COBK [expansion unknown], in the Construction Mechanization Industry Association (ZREMB), in the Roads and Bridges Research Institute, and many others. A new design of vibration hammers has been developed which are being used to form piles in the ground in the area of the Warsaw-West railroad station and in the construction of bridge supports on the Patnow open pit.

The WAT Mechanical Department groups are doing work on improving the operation of mechanical vehicles. Results of fatigue studies on machine joint systems, roller-bearing life, fatigue-cracking velocity, were used in the Marine Engineering Center (CTO) in Gdansk, the WSK [expansion unknown] in Swidnik, the Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy, and the Thermal Engineering Institute. Automatic calculation and optimization of gears, selection of roller bearings, and calculation of machine rollers, were applied in many construction offices and in many factories, including the Small Passenger Car Factory (FSM) in Bielsko-Biala and the Aircraft Propulsion Factory in Rzeszow. Methods were developed for shortening the running-in time for Star-660 trucks from 3,000 to 2,000 kilometers. Results of the studies have been used in repair plants and in the Truck Factory (FSC) in Starachowice.

In the WAT Microwave and Laser Systems Institute a series of laser equipment was developed for the mining industry: a miner's gangway laser to determine the axis of the bored gangways, a laser truing device to indicate with a very high degree of accuracy the axis of the shaft, a miner's construction laser designed for surface work, particularly in setting up shaft hoists, and a miner's personal location transmitter which increases the work safety of miners.

These are only some of the examples of the work being done by the WAT.

[Question] The up-to-dateness of military engineering equipment makes it necessary for factories and workforces to learn new technologies and meet high requirements for quality.

[Answer] Factories along with the production of armaments and military equipment manufacture market products. Hence the wide penetration of the up-to-dateness of military engineering into the national economy. We are dealing here



with the feedback between the armed forces and the national economy. Military engineering, in view of its own specific features, must base itself on domestic raw and other materials, and parts produced within the country. Therefore, it creates many possibilities for anti-import activity. Today, at a time when raw materials, other materials, fuels and energy, are scarce, anti-import and pro-export activity is one of the decisive factors in determining the development of production. We also have examples showing that some of the work which in previous years could be applied in industry only with great difficulty, is now arousing great interest.

The development of the inventive movement can attest to the standing and quality of our work. The school now has over 500 domestic and foreign patents, the latter in some of the most developed countries of the world, and we have 60 usable models. Licensing and application contracts have been entered into for their practical utilization. In total, over 60 percent of the patents and protection certificates apply to the development of modern engineering equipment.

Our most valuable contribution is the large group of workers with the highest scientific qualifications and high ideological and moral qualities. We have given Polish science 45 professors, 80 doctors habilitatus, and over 800 doctors. We have also given science and the national economy tested and proven people for management positions in the central state apparatus.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/512

AEROKLUB TRANSFERRED TO DEFENSE MINISTRY

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Jan 84 p 6

[Interview with PRL Aeroclub president Gen Bryg Pilot Dr Wladyslaw Hermaszewski, by Mjr Stanislaw Lukaszewski: "'New' Wings"]

[Text] [Question] General, the PRL Aeroclub recently held its 12th national congress. We learned that its sponsorship and supervision had passed to the Ministry of National Defense. What were the reasons underlying this decision?

[Answer] This happened because, by virtue of a decision by government officials, the PRL Aeroclub was given the status of a mass, social paramilitary organization with a defense and sports nature and was charged with conducting all basic training of airmen cadres in the country for the needs of the armed forces, the national economy, and sports. Hence the nature of our association must basically change, and this is mainly what justifies the Ministry of National Defense's taking over its sponsorship. On the other hand, the club's members are satisfied and full of hope over the decision and their new sponsor, the defense ministry.

Despite its past place in the system of governmental oversight, the club has always enjoyed various sorts of disinterested assistance from the defense ministry. Now, in keeping with the promise made by defense minister Gen Florian Siwicki, this assistance will become natural and enjoy a wider range of involvement, insuring a better future for the club.

[Question] At the congress you presented a report, and the delegates expanded the assessment of operations with their discussion and conclusions. What were the high points of the report and the statements?

[Answer] All the delegates to the 12th congress and our guests received ahead of time a comprehensive text of the report of our association's activity during the past term, and we saw no need to repeat these things in the report we gave from the podium. Therefore, the report I read only contained a selection of today's most vital problems and matters involved in our association's new functions, tasks, and character. I also wanted to use this backdrop to make a critical but simultaneously objective presentation of a number of adverse phenomena which exist, especially the serious neglect in ideological training and tasks on behalf of the country's armed forces and defense preparedness.

Similar subject matter dominated the discussion, and Gen Tadeusz Tuczapski also talked about these issues in detail.

[Question] The PRL Aeroclub has been granted the status of a mass organization with a defense and sporting nature. What sort of obligations does this imply, and what practical implications were there be? In other words, what will the new model be like? What will be the forms of activity?

[Answer] In keeping with the new nature of our association, the 12th congress also passed proposals for important changes in the club's by-laws, especially the section on tasks. Here there was an explanation of ideological, moral, and propaganda activity along with training tasks on behalf of the armed forces, while the high priority we give to our sports aviation activity will be maintained.

Hence, on a broad front we want to reach the youth organizations and schools, so that by setting up aviation and model-building clubs, teams, classes, and groups we can develop an interest in and love for aviation among young people and later attract them to practical aviation activity in regional flying clubs.

Among these young people we want to find candidates for a career in aviation and future masters of air sports.

[under photograph of Gen Hermaszewski:] "It is after all a matter of our young people and moral-training activity, which is so important in our country."

[Question] The question of insuring the peace and of opposing the threat of war has become a very important thing now. In terms of defense stance, in what direction will the club's activity go?

[Answer] We are aware of the nightmare of war, especially modern nuclear war, and we fully appreciate the blessings of peace. Therefore we condemn the people behind the present arms race and the threat to peace, the present U.S. administration and their NATO allies.

In this spirit, the 12th congress passed a special resolution, calling on all members of our association to take a decisive position against attempts to set off a third and perhaps final war on our earth.

[Question] One may suppose that the club will also expand its influence in the sports world. Have the first steps been taken yet?

[Answer] In my report from the podium I said that the reshaping of our organization's profile by no means signifies that anyone intends to limit sports aviation in the club. All the areas of air sports are after all defensive sports and fit our organization's defense character. And we must also not reduce in any way the club's past training and sporting contribution. Therefore we are taking steps to activate all areas of our sports activity.

We are also enjoying here understanding and great good will and help from the Main Committee on Physical Education and Sports, whose chairman, Marian Renke spoke from the podium at the congress.

[Question] Increase club activity means not only the regional air clubs but also the schools, places of employment, and institutions. What are you doing to attract allies?

[Answer] I have already mentioned that we want to use a broad front to reach the schools and the youth organizations, but of course we want to do this in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Development, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Polish Scouting Union, the Central Union of Housing Construction Cooperatives (sponsoring model-building), and other partners. We anticipate understanding from them and help. After all, we are talking about our young people and also about moral training and development, which is so important in our country. We are also counting on help from the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army and the Air Force.

[Question] I get the impression that in the past the club did not have a good press. Little was written and only on special occasions. Will that change?

[Answer] I agree with you. Some publications, like SPORTOWIEC, for example, still do not consider the club's congress to be worth devoting even part of a column to, but I think that this is probably the last publication in our country to ignore our organization, its affairs, and its sports successes, which were so significant last year.

On the other hand, we value very highly all the other publications and papers, and especially SKRZYDLATA POLSKA, the radio, and television.

We still do not have our own air club publication.

[Question] I forgot to congratulate you on your reelection as president, General. I think that our readers share the wish that under its new sponsorship and with its new officers the air club will go after satisfying, measurable achievements. As a footnote, let me ask whether ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI will be kept informed about what of interest and importance is going on in the club from now on. Can we count on cooperation?

[Answer] Thank you very much for the congratulations. I think that now we shall be giving out information in the columns of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. This is very important to us.

10790

CSO: 2600/532

## BRIEFS

NEW 'TU I TERAZ'--With the start of the new year, 1984, the weekly TU I TERAZ has started to come out in an enlarged edition, in a different graphic format, and with a somewhat modified editorial policy. The front and back pages have been changed, and the order in which articles appear in a given issue has been changed. During the first year and a half of its existence this weekly has won a reputation for itself as a controversial, hardhitting paper which has managed to trigger some very heated debates concerning stands taken on the Polish left. It now hopes to do a better job of appealing to the interests of a broader cross-section of readers. According to an announcement by the editorial board, there will be more social and life-style reporting and more magazine-style articles. For example, one of these kinds of items will be an entire series of biographic sketches of people who have become popular personalities in People's Poland, i.e., popular personalities in both the best and dubious or worst senses of this term. These biographies will most certainly serve to make an important contribution to knowledge of Polish history. TU I TERAZ still wants to encourage debate. The only difference now is that it will do so in a more interesting way than it has in the past. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jan 84 p 6]

CSO: 2600/565

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DEFENSE COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 4, letter b) of Law No 5/1969 on the establishment, organization and operation of the Defense Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lt Gen Gheorghe Gomoiu is relieved of his position as member of the Defense Council and that Comrade Lt Gen Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army, is appointed member of the Defense Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 102, 24 Dec 83 p 5]

CSO: 2700/111

## YUGOSLAVIA

### CATHOLIC PRESS REPORTS 'PROBABLE' VISIT OF POPE

[Editorial Report] The 25 December 1983 issue of the Catholic Church biweekly GLAS KONCILA (Zagreb) published an interview (pages 1,3,4) with Cardinal Kuharic in which he referred more precisely to a proposed visit by Pope John Paul to Yugoslavia. This was the subject of the Cardinal's visit to Rome at the Pope's invitation 23-26 November briefly reported in the 4 December 1983 issue (page 1) of the above paper. In this Christmas interview, the Cardinal says that "our Bishops Conference sent an invitation to the Holy Father to visit the church in our country. We suggested two programs, a longer and a shorter one. We also suggested a time for the visit.... It is certain that the Catholics of Croatia and Slovenia and all Yugoslavia want this visit. But one cannot yet say with certainty whether this will take place and when. Nevertheless, a report on the same page said that on 12 December the Cardinal called a special meeting of the Croatian and Slovenian bishops to discuss 'the probable visit of Pope John Paul II to our country.' No report regarding the meeting has been made public. It is known that the Pope would come at the conclusion of the National Eucharist Congress of the Church in Croatia and that he would also visit cities outside of the Socialist Republic of Croatia."

The Cardinal's interview further indicated that the Pope would welcome ecumenical meetings with representatives of the Orthodox Church, as well as meeting with nonbelievers.

CSO: 2800/171

EMIGRATION OF SERBS, ROMANIES FROM SOUTH SERBIA NOTED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 254, 19 Nov 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Toma Milic: "When Need Changes the Law"]

[Text] When a person breaks the law, for the most part we think that some need or other has impelled him to do so. People will even try to justify a culprit's actions. But when three councils of a communal assembly violate the Constitution and pass an illegal resolution, can understanding words be found for such actions? Not from the purely legal viewpoint. But from the human and practical viewpoint these steps by the councilmen were necessary. They may not be applauded, but they can be understood as temporary measures.

Well, legal or not, in September 1982 the Bujanovac Communal Assembly, finding no other solution, passed a resolution "temporarily restricting trade in land and buildings in the area of the commune, with the provision that the Executive Council of the Communal Assembly is authorized to approve such trade in justified cases..." This policy absolutely contradicts the existing law on Real Estate Transactions in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and restricts certain constitutional rights of citizens, but necessity changes the law.

Neither the councilmen in Bujanovac nor those in Presevo, two ethnically mixed communes in southernmost Serbia, have had it easy in recent years, especially after the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, when probings by Albanian irredentists have been felt here as well. There have been open declarations of hostility, writing of irredentist slogans as graffiti, captured enemy groups, as well as ethnic conflicts between individual citizens, desecration of graves and other Serbian shrines, sabotage, threats and attempted rapes, and so forth.

Extortion and Pressures

That is, everything known to be in the extensive arsenal of the Kosovo irredentists has been used. There is no clearcut answer to the question of how they infiltrated into Southern Serbia, where interethnic relationships have been good throughout the postwar period. But penetrating analysis is not needed to discern that these influences have emanated, among other things,



from individual ethnic Albanian elementary and secondary school students and workers who go to school and work in Pristina and adjacent Kosovo communes; Gnjilane, Novo Brdo, Kosovska Kamenica, and others. Indoctrination of youth in southern Serbia has gone on virtually unimpeded for years. Much inter-ethnic friction and conflict, along with willful damage to fields, has also gone unpunished. This process was especially intensive between 1971 and 1981, and still has not stopped. In recent years criminal charges have been brought in 15 cases of unlawful pressure and use of force, but there have been many more violations than these.

The Serbs and Romanies of the ethnically mixed urban settlements are leaving in an unchecked stream for Vranje, Vladicin Han, Leskovac, and Smederevo. They are selling their houses, land, and livestock. This process is causing particular concern to the communal authorities in Bujanovac.

Randel Veljkovic, the chairman of the Bujanovac Communal Assembly, says that "the Serbian population has been migrating from our commune for more than 20 years, but this migration has been especially noticeable in the last 10 years. We have learned that most of the people migrating are leaving the ethnically mixed settlements. This suggests that ethnic intolerance between individuals is involved. There has been a large number of cases of extortion and forcible migration. We have come to the conclusion that the economic reasons for migration are insignificant; it is a question of insecurity and the pressures applied."

We spent some time in southern Serbia recently and talked with a large number of citizens, officials, economic managers, and persons in the judicial system. The first impression received is that great efforts are being exerted to improve the chilly, and sometimes even severed, ethnic relations. There are nevertheless many uncertainties and dilemmas revolving around the question of how promptly to prevent the emigration of Serbs. The infelicitous resolution itself noted at the beginning of this account, the one prohibiting land transactions, however illegal it may be, indicates that people are managing in one way or another to prevent hostile provocations and emigration. Bujanovac is the largest ethnically mixed commune in Southern Serbia, and almost all the characteristics of hostile action are displayed in it.

#### Unscrupulous Dealing in Houses

Despite all efforts (three factories have been built here in the last 5 years and another 2 will be erected by 1985), the emigration has not been stopped. People are abandoning their land and jobs, are selling their houses, and are leaving. And the names are known of those who have applied pressure to bring about migration, who have fomented disorder and have done damage to fields. Some have responded unlawfully, although they could have taken other steps. But all this has been to little avail. Although some emigrants have returned and obtained jobs, the number of those leaving for good is much greater.

Even the illegal resolution to which we have referred, the one passed by the Bujanovac Communal Assembly, has not done much to improve the situation. Sales are made illegally, without lawful contracts and entry in the land registry books, and the instances are by no means rare in which the new owners (Albanians) have the use of property while the old owners (Serbs) pay the taxes. In the last 10 months of this year alone, the Public Revenue Administration in Bujanovac has discovered about 60 sales which were not legally transacted. Over the same period, 300 property owners applied to the Communal Assembly for approval of sale of homes and land. As was stated by the current chairman of the Communal Assembly, Randjel Veljkovic, and the former chairman, Milorad Kovacevic, even sales of nationalized construction site land in the town of Bujanovac itself are becoming more frequent. Transactions between individuals are incomprehensible. Individual ethnic Albanian purchasers of property disregard both the regulations and the customs of long standing in this area of notification of neighbors by the seller that he intends to sell his property. On the contrary, well-to-do individuals on their own initiative offer enormous sums of money and deliberately provoke a willingness to sell even in households which had not given much thought to leaving. Many Albanian families do not buy houses and land for their own need but sell cheaply bought land for a price many times greater than that paid and thus make a great amount of money. This business becomes unscrupulous dealing which cannot be stopped.

#### A Shoemaker Offers Foreign Currency

Although the "good payers" are well known to the communal authorities and the criminal investigation authorities, no one thinks of determining the origin of the money, despite the fact that in some cases it is obvious that the individuals are not affluent enough to be able to buy a house and land for several hundred million dinars each. Nor does it bother anyone that a large part of the land transactions is accomplished in foreign currency. A payer of foreign exchange, shoemaker Abdula Salih of Veliki Trnovac, in whose family no one earns foreign exchange, is known to the Communal Assembly of Bujanovac; he continues his operations unhampered and, as they say, "always offers a good price." Nor has anyone been disturbed by the news that Hodza Memeti of the village of Koncula bought a house and land from Zafir Dubakovic for more than 665 million old dinars. People are naturally reluctant to talk, and even less willing to write, about all this.

How is an atmosphere of insecurity created, and how are pressures for emigration generated? We begin with the assessment made several days ago by the Bujanovac Communal Assembly. "We cannot be satisfied with the situation; direct and indirect pressure is still being applied, and this is leading to more emigration." Experts have stressed, as they did last year at this time, that there are instances of physical assault, attempted rapes (Biljaca), assaults of public safety officers (Bujanovac), assaults of shepherds (Crnotince), desecration of churches and graves (Veliki Trnovac and Biljaca), prevention of the use of public facilities, usurpation of private property, sabotage (the Battery Factory), and so forth. But it is difficult to detect all these incidents and their perpetrators.

It seems that in this region even individuals in the legal system do not dispense justice objectively. Thus the communal public prosecutor in Presevo, Radomir Manic, has brought criminal charges against two communal judges for malfeasance in office. According to the prosecutor, Skender Ismaili and Skender Junuzi willfully failed to perform legal actions which it was their duty to perform, "in order to free individual ethnic Albanians from responsibility for harm which they had done to Serbs." It is a question of many actions which ended up in the files of these and other judges and remained there to become outdated and to be rejected. The two judges in question are awaiting trial, but in new jobs in the Presevo Communal Assembly.

#### A Sign of Disquiet

All this is having unforeseeable effects on interethnic relations. The weaknesses of individuals who have worked and are still working in official organs are exploited by individual nationalists and bullies. For instance, Spira Trajkovic of the village of Lucan (Bujanovac Communal Assembly--the last Serbian family in this village) announced sale of land and home for purposes of migration. But his neighbor Saban Ismeti immediately objected to this sale, since he allegedly had an "option to buy," even though he offered much less than did the first buyer. When no agreement was reached, a period ensued of pressure applied to the Trajkovic family (physical assault, threats, destruction of crops).

Instances are also known in which a seller and buyer have freely reached agreement on a transaction, but then a third party has appeared to threaten the buyer and keep him from going through with the transaction. Homeowner Dimitrije Dimitrijevic of Biljaca (Bujanovac) for a full 5 years was unable to sell his property because of extortion. Individual Serbian families have not received money as agreed in a transaction and have abandoned everything and have gone to live elsewhere (Letovica). The family of Sukrija Idovic of Letovica tried to buy the property of Mihajlo Djordjevic at any cost. And when the owner sold to another purchaser, Sukrija prevented the new owner from entering the house he bought.

There is no easing of disquiet and tension in many settlements, despite all efforts. Nor was the situation essentially changed by the decisions of the Bujanovac Communal Assembly to grant returnees priority in employment, in the allotment of building sites, and in the allocation of housing and child-support allowances. But there has been little response, since "there is no happiness for whoever settles here." On the contrary, the situation in the village of Biljaca not far from Bujanovac is a typical example of the accelerating emigration and is a reflection of current conditions: 52 of 97 ethnic Serbian households are buying or building houses in other areas.

There is no Serbian population left in Mali Trnovac, and there used to be 70 households. There are no Serbs or Romanies in Veliki Trnovac, where once there were 130 houses. All 50 Romany families and 40 Serbian families have migrated from the village of Konculje (Bujanovac Commune). Nor are there Serbs left in Nesalac and Letovica. Biljaca has been abandoned by 180 Serbian families and 60 Romanies, etc.

It is not for us to evaluate the political security situation in the far south of our republic. But it is obvious, even if many interethnic excesses are disregarded, that the emigration of Serbs and Romanies from the ethnically mixed villages and towns is a sign that something is wrong here and that people are being forced out by unrest. After all allowance has been made for the efforts exerted here to eliminate the causes leading to migration of the Serbs and to bring about return of the migrating families, the impression persists that, as in Kosovo, the root of all these causes still has not been reached.

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RADULOVIC DISCUSSES SYSTEMIC BASES OF IRRESPONSIBLE CONDUCT

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[Article by Petar Radulovic: "Irresponsible Behavior--Causes and Consequences"]

[Text] I assume this discussion to be about the question of responsibility in our country, since that is essentially how the theses were formulated.

Speaking about responsibility, or, better put, about irresponsibility, has been a thankless task down through history, to put it mildly, and even now that is the case in many countries. That is why even many people familiar with this very important and complex problem area are reluctant to speak and to take a position on these essential matters.

As is well known, responsibility is an old topic on which the first philosophers and then lawyers and others reflected and wrote about since ancient times. Some forms of responsibility are just as old as society itself. Numerous legal, philosophical and other documents cover the question of responsibility to a certain extent and from certain standpoints. And then in all contemporary states the basic legal documents contain many rights and freedoms of citizens, not to mention the programs of political parties, especially communist, socialist and social-democrat.

In this context responsibility ought to be studied from every angle, and at the same time well-enforced in practice. However, while the theory of responsibility has still not been adequately treated, there have in practice been many departures from this. The reason lies not only in the complexity of the problems, but also in the tendency to evade responsibility, to pass the buck, to muddy the waters. This especially applies to those who have great power (authority) and possess force.

So, although our century is the century of science, engineering and technology (as it is often called), an era of progress in which human thought is conquering space and other hidden secrets of nature, it is at the same time an age of violence. Aside from the well-known devastation caused by war, the postwar atrocities in certain states, the emergence of terrorism and various forms of pressures, interference with the rights of others, infringements on rights of nationalities and other rights--many rights and freedoms have also

been threatened, and that both within individual countries and also more broadly, within the framework of systems. Although the two existing systems--capitalism and socialism--boast that the freedoms and rights of their citizens have reached a peak, in essence many of those freedoms and rights are violated, even those which were proclaimed more than 200 years ago during the bourgeois revolutions.

The question of responsibility under socialism, as a new progressive system, also takes on very complicated dimensions--on the one hand because of departures from the basic principles and precepts, and on the other because of the complexity of the problems that arise in working out and applying the system of responsibility. Socialism has what we might call community ownership, and ownership is one of the most important questions in the history of human development and relations.

Capitalism, which has private ownership, regulates this matter more easily, since private ownership is implanted in people's consciousness; it has become something sacred preserved in every way.

Socialism, and our self-management socialism in particular, is based on the premise of social consciousness as an essential factor in building the new social relations, reciprocity and solidarity. Our self-management system has two essential prerequisites, two essential factors: social ownership and social consciousness (we will have more to say about this in our discussion below).

The system of responsibility must not be regarded solely from the standpoint of law, since this would be a one-sided view, but must also be regarded from the standpoint of morality, since the law and morality are closely related; should they come in conflict, one of them changes, and as a rule it is the law which undergoes changes and becomes difficult to enforce.

Responsibility is an indicator of achievement of lawfulness and the level of a society's ethic. This means that responsibility is a barometer of the law and reality of every social community, and ultimately even of the value of the social order which a community, acting as a state, proclaims.

#### Conditions and Prerequisites for Consistent Enforcement of Responsibility

Responsibility in general, and personal responsibility in particular, presupposes a well-organized society, the existence of institutions which provide barriers to abuses, in particular to abuses and privatization of government power. This also presupposes a corresponding social climate which facilitates consistent enforcement of responsibility, and that equally for all, and stimulates the development and improvement of that entire mechanism. This is undoubtedly a complex and very urgent issue in view of its role and importance.

The question of the domain of the so-called private sphere of human freedoms (delimitation of social control, in the broader sense of that word, those rights and freedoms of man as an individual which by their nature and

importance enter into the personal and private sphere of man) also comes within the context of the search to find appropriate solutions to the problems. That is, responsibility must not be regarded and enforced as an expression of a totalitarian society in which the individual is completely subject to collective control.

In the context of the conditions and prerequisites of responsibility people's physical existence and the manner in which it is secured have an important role. In other words, there is a close connection between people's material dependence and the question of responsibility.

In a society in which there is human neglect and poverty on the one hand and wealth and a luxurious life on the other, various negative phenomena inevitably occur which take on the character of a state of social relations. This is reflected first in the society's morality and ethic, and then in the system of responsibility as a whole.

Aside from that, people's level of education also has an important role in achievement of responsibility. The less education people have, the more easily they succumb to various influences, including the reception and adoption of ideologization (blind belief and distorted consciousness).

Public opinion is a very important factor, since it powerfully influences the development and enforcement of responsibility. If public opinion is to come to full expression in a society, then to a considerable extent the danger must be removed from various abuses such as bureaucracy, privatization of official power, the unlimited tenure of office of individuals and groups, and thereby other forms of irresponsible behavior as well on the part of all those who have particular government or political functions.

The principle of recall, of rotation and of reelection of those holding particular positions has an important role in the system of responsibility.

The term "replaceability" has both a strict meaning and a broader one. In the strict sense this term signifies removal of individuals or of an entire collective body before the appointed time (removal of an individual officeholder, for example, a minister, before the end of the term to which he has been appointed, removal of a government before the end of its term of office, dissolution of parliament before the end of the term, recall of a deputy, and so on). In the broader sense this term signifies the order governing the replacement of people, restriction on the duration of rule or administration by the same people (application of the system of rotation). This principle has been adopted in several countries with a democratic tradition, and it is one of the products of the fight to preserve rights and freedoms in society, since past experience demonstrates that the longer people hold power, the less sense they have of responsibility.

We should especially emphasize that responsibility must be examined in a harmonious relationship with the constant development of civilization and the development of social relations, which are highly complex and indeed even contradictory, not only because of class relations, ideological differences

and the struggle between them, but also because of various other antagonisms. Science has an important role here, which accounts for the great responsibility of prestigious scientists and individual experts in general, and in a socialist society in particular.

Viewed as a whole, in spite of significant changes in social systems and the pronounced democratization of relations, there have been no essential changes in the system of responsibility. Some scientists say (not without reason) that the question of responsibility has been neglected, and indeed even negated.

It is well known that the bureaucracy, which is constantly growing in strength and size, is a particular phenomenon in all this. In fact the bureaucracy is a misfortune exerting a strong pressure on present-day society. It is a particular feature of the bureaucratic mentality, as Marx demonstrated in "Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," manifested in its crass materialism (pursuit of career) and its egregious spiritualism (tyranny, "the desire for everything to be done"). The bureaucracy measures every dissatisfaction by its own measure (the subjective criterion). The bureaucracy is not satisfied even with monopoly of power, but wants at all costs to secure an ideological monopoly as well, thereby subordinating the objective truth and scientific knowledge to its own interest, its own bureaucratic knowledge and will. Marx was resolute in emphasizing the Jesuitic character of the bureaucratic "truth of authority," which is manifested in all ages and in all latitudes where the bureaucratic hierarchy has the last word. Certain experiences from the recent past, including the examples of certain countries today, show how great is the danger of bureaucracy.

Accordingly, in and of itself the feature of the social system is not proof or guarantee of the exercise of rights and freedoms and of the existence of authentic democracy. Likewise, in and of itself the character of ownership, which earlier was thought to be a decisive factor (though it undoubtedly is important) is neither proof nor guarantee of people's economic equality, since exploitation is possible, as practice in fact confirms, even in a system in which the property relations are considerably different or, put better, do not involve private ownership.

The value of a society is manifested in the consistency of application of the system of responsibility and in the constancy of the social attitude toward this issue. That is, the attitude toward responsibility can be expressed in various ways, such as these: the pseudodemocratic, the liberalistic, that of the rigorous campaign, and so on.

As is well known, a great difference among men has been made down through history in the enforcement of responsibility (and unfortunately this is done even now in many states). He who has power or is in some way able to exert influence through official power is not punished, or, if he is, he is punished leniently.



## A Look at the Development of Responsibility in Our Own Country

When we take up the question of legal regulation of responsibility in our own country, it can be said that from the very outset, from the birth of the newly created state, importance has been paid to this question. First of all, we should emphasize that in the first Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia [FNRJ] (dating from 1946) the importance of responsibility was emphasized. This is manifested in establishment of the principle of constitutionality and legality<sup>1</sup> and in definition of the responsibility of the FNRJ Government as the highest executive and administrative body of government authority in the country,<sup>2</sup> which constitutes a new qualitative element in dealing with the various questions of the constitutional character of countries with a socialist system. Another very interesting thing is the important right of every citizen to take to court an official for crimes committed as an officeholder (Article 40). It also for the first time deals in a specific way with the question of ownership--a new form of ownership is introduced (property belonging to the entire people).<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, we can even boast that in this first constitution, which was modeled after the 1936 Soviet Constitution, great attention was paid to the question of responsibility.

In addition, there was also great emphasis on responsibility in connection with the management and use of property belonging to the entire people. At that time, as is well known, government authorities were the only ones authorized to manage all the principal means of production.

The property of the entire people, which was later given the more appropriate name of social property, was also protected by strict criminal penalties, which at one time even included the most severe penalty (capital punishment).

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1 "Government bodies and agencies shall exercise authority on the basis of the FNRJ Constitution, the constitutions of the various republics, laws of the FNRJ, laws of the people's republics, and general enactments of the supreme bodies of government.

"All documents of government administrative bodies and agencies and judicial authorities must be based on law" (Article 8 of the constitution).

2 "The FNRJ Government is responsible and shall report on its work to the FNRJ People's Assembly. In the interval between sessions of the FNRJ People's Assembly the government shall be responsible and shall report on its work to the Presidium of the FNRJ People's Assembly" (Article 77, Paragraph 3, of the constitution).

"Members of the FNRJ Government are strictly accountable for violation of the constitution and laws in performance of their official duties. They shall be accountable for the injury which they do the state by their unlawful acts" (Article 84 of the constitution).

3 "Property belonging to the entire people is the principal foundation of the state in the development of the national economy. Property belonging to the entire people shall be under the particular protection of the state. The administration and disposition of property belonging to the entire people shall be defined by law" (Article 16 of the constitution).

Numerous other penalties were also prescribed: imprisonment, strict imprisonment, confiscation of property and fines, but all of those penalties pertained only to individuals--to the manager or officeworker or blue-collar worker of an enterprise or institution, or to other persons outside the work process who caused injury to that common property.

When the system of self-management was introduced in 1950, by enactment of the well-known Law on Management of State Economic Enterprises and Higher Economic Associations by Work Collectives, which was a precursor of constitutional amendments, the decentralization and degovernmentalization of the functions of the state began. The rights of work collectives at that time were small compared to the scope of their present powers in self-management, but even then there existed the basis of responsibility, that is, the enforcement of political-legal responsibility (the possibility of dismissing the workers' council).

With the enactment of other laws, in particular the 1953 Constitutional Law, which amended the 1946 Constitution, self-management was given a far broader scope. It was introduced not only in the domain of the economy, but also noneconomic activities (the opportunity was opened up for introduction of self-management in the fields of education, health care, culture, social welfare, and social insurance). As part of legislation in that initial period attention was also paid to the question of responsibility and protection of social property.

What objections can be made from the standpoint of a lack of regulation of responsibility? This applies in the case of responsibility of organizations exercising public authority, which were known as public enterprises (organizations or enterprises in the fields of transportation, PTT [postal, telephone and telegraph], electric power distribution, and various work organizations providing public services), where the rights of citizens as the users of the services were not provided for and guaranteed with respect to reimbursement of loss, as was the case with government bodies and agencies, by which we mean administrative, judicial and other entities. Only later was that blank filled in, especially a few years ago when the Law on Contractual Relations was enacted. That is, the question of regulating responsibility, viewed as a whole, has not been neglected in spite of certain shortcomings.

Discrepancy Between Commitments as to Principle, Proclamations and Legal Enactments, on the One Hand, and Social Reality on the Other

Views have long differed on the role of the state in socialism. Some people think that the state is the sole community in which it is possible to achieve legality and fairness, the only means by which socialist development is guided, and that the goals of society are achieved by strengthening it. They go on to justify all the measures of the government, including the existence of a strong government apparatus as a coercive force. Others think that a socialist state should be based on the principles of democracy in the true sense of that word, that it is a community of political and economic rights in which the great majority of the people are happy and satisfied, since it can be argued that common ownership facilitates the economic equality of people and thereby their real equality as well.

Similarly, there have also been differing views in our country. Some are persuaded that the state is a legal and moral institution, which in ancient times was the opinion of the well-known writers Plato and Aristotle, while other authors would negate the need for its existence. In their opinion, all the questions of social relations can be dealt with within the framework of self-management. These are not merely opposed opinions, they are mutually exclusive.

The state will undoubtedly be necessary for a long time yet. Its existence is necessitated by the creation of the classless society (communism), which is now only a vision of a portion of humanity. On the other hand socialism, and especially self-management socialism, necessitates degovernmentalization of the functions of the state--their socialization, and thereby the democratization of society as well (implementation of Lenin's concept of worker and social management). Lenin pointed both to the need for the workers and citizens to be involved in the management of public affairs and in the process of the gradual withering away of the state as a class creation, as well as to the need for its existence until the very disappearance of capitalism and class society.

Our system of self-management represents not merely an innovation, but even the sole example in the world. It is the first case in modern history of such a large involvement of all strata of society, and the working class first of all, in management of the economy and all areas of the life of society.

This qualitative undertaking is predicated upon two essential conditions: social ownership as the common basis of the socioeconomic system, and social consciousness as a very significant factor in building a socialist system and a self-management society in particular.

As self-management was introduced and underwent development, the need arose to find new solutions, that is, to introduce important innovations in the regulation of social relations in general and especially with respect to management of social property. Property is always one of the central issues in a social system.

The regulation of the new social relations through legislative activity is not a simple task, but, on the contrary, a very complicated one. Yet self-management cannot be built solely through government enactments, since its development necessitates self-management regulation, which presupposes the creativity of the self-managers, which is also a complicated task.

Consequently, our legal system is made up of two forms of regulation: the government form and the self-management form.

Government regulation has had and now has a large role in regulating overall social relations and has thereby a significant influence on development of self-management. The constitutional and legal solutions define the status of organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities (their rights and obligations to the social community, including

rights and obligations related to management and disposition of social property and assets); they influence the production of goods and the rendering of services (by setting prices, creating conditions for equality on the unified market, the granting of exemptions when certain technology and scarce raw materials are imported, the granting of incentives in connection with exports of goods, and so on. In addition, government bodies and agencies have great powers in overseeing and monitoring the lawfulness of operation of all self-managing organizations and communities.

In short, through legislation and through the exercise of other functions by particular agencies and organizations, the state has had a strong influence--on certain important issues--protection of social property and achievement of constitutionality and legality--even a decisive influence, on the development and present status of social relations. To be sure, we must not neglect the influence of the self-managing entities (organizations and communities) either, since through their work and behavior they have also "contributed" to our present problems.

As is well known, recently there has been much talk about responsibility in our country, since the consequences of negligent work, abuse of position and authority, privatization of government power and various anomalies have become increasingly obvious. The causes of this are manifold. For example, habits from the past, which are incompatible with the new social relations. Then many human weaknesses which accompany the contemporary world: the desire for a career, for wealth, for a comfortable life without work and other negative phenomena which give rise to corruption, bribery, smuggling and various forms of criminal activity. Not a single social system is immune to these phenomena, but they cause the greatest damage to socialism as a world process, since they violate its basic values (creation of a fairer and more humane society).

Socialism presupposes higher ethics and morality of society than do capitalism and other social formations. In that context our self-management system, with respect to its social purpose, is the leader, so that its role and responsibility from the standpoint of social development and prospects is very great.

Various other factors have also influenced consistency in enforcement of responsibility and thereby also the correctness and consistency of development of our self-management system: normativism, formalism, institutionalism and the preoccupation with subordination. Something more needs to be said about all this.

Our system is also characterized by the large number of entities (governmental and self-management) authorized to regulate social relations. This also necessitates enactment of a large number of general legal acts (enactments). But proper measure must be found even in this. That is, not even self-management law (regulation) can be as scattered and diverse as, say, in the age of feudalism, when individuals or individual families (the owners of estates) prescribe the law.

The existence of a large number of laws and other regulations and their frequent amendment are having an adverse influence on the legal security of citizens and other legal entities, as well as on constitutionality and legality as a whole.

In the flood of regulations such as we now have there are two dangers: first, even superb lawyers have difficulty getting their bearings in them, so where does that leave the uneducated citizen, and second, this is also causing an exaggerated formalism, which is also rather pronounced in our country.

I conducted research 3 years ago and came to a rather confident conclusion that at that time there were about 3.3 million regulations of all kinds--after all, it is easy to establish government enactments, they are published, beginning with federal laws and ending with opstina decisions, and on the basis of studies in a number of organizations of associated labor, work organizations and complex organizations estimates were made of the number of general self-management acts. The majority were self-management accords and social compacts--numbering about 2 million, and then other general self-management acts (bylaws, codes of regulations, and so on), numbering 1.2 million, and about 100,000 government enactments. Certain partial studies at the present time show that we have a total of about 7 million pieces of legislation of all kinds. This figure is not, of course, altogether reliable, but it is certain that the present number of regulations (government and self-management) is close to that number. This is also supported by the fact that laws impose on every work organization the obligation of having several dozen general self-management acts (52 general legal acts in all, including various self-management and other accords whose enactment procedure is rather complicated). What this means is this: government regulations necessitate an immense regulatory activity in self-management, and even they run to large numbers, so that many people rightly say that man cannot be seen in our forest of legislation.

In many laws, which is not to mention other government enactments and general self-management acts, there are many contradictions and things which are unclear. Certain provisions sound like various declarations in their broadness, but not in their clarity (style, logic and terminology). For example, some have calculated that one article in the Law on Associated Labor (Article 13) has 337 words, but this is not an isolated case.

An enactment, especially a law, should be the product of a comprehensive examination of social relations and a regulator of the direction given to social development. It must be clear. We need to recall the idea of the well-known German jurist Jhering, who said: "The legislator should think like a philosopher, but speak like a peasant." What he meant to say was that the enactment should be written so that it can easily be understood by everyone. The General Property Code of Montenegro, dating from 1888, which was drafted by the well-known jurist Valtazar Bogisic, can serve as a model in this regard.

Many troubles are caused by the poor language in legislation.

As is well known, there is formalism in our country both in connection with the exercise of rights and performance of duties by the working people and citizens and also in performance of the functions of collective bodies (workers' councils and other bodies of self-management and delegate assemblies), so that this is one of the things adversely affecting the quality of work and achievement of the goals of society.

Along with normativism and formalism, an excessively great threat of repression is also manifested. Many people say that our system of responsibility is not functioning because we do not have adequate penal provisions. I say that even though in the world we are on the top of the ladder in our normativism, we also lead with respect to the threat of repression. It fortunately is not invoked to such a great degree. But let us illustrate by starting with the most severe penalties. Earlier (during the existence of uniform material criminal legislation--up to July 1977) capital punishment could be pronounced in 46 cases, but now, under the federal law, it exists in 60 cases, and under republic and provincial criminal laws it exists in between 4 and 6 cases. And then there are about 3,500 economic offenses, and the number of misdemeanors cannot be easily ascertained, but it is known for certain that it exceeds some 10,000, since there are pieces of legislation with 50, 100, 150, 200, or indeed even more than 300 prohibited misdemeanors.

Similarly, there are an exaggerated number of bodies, agencies and organizations performing government functions (enforcing laws, overseeing and monitoring the work of self-managing organizations and communities, seeing to constitutionality and legality, and performing other functions). Aside from the conventional government bodies and agencies: jurisprudence, administrative agencies, various inspectorates (there are in all 32 types of inspectorates), there are the constitutional courts, offices of the public defender of self-management law, the courts of associated labor and the Social Accounting Service. All of these bodies, agencies and organizations, which are also large in terms of their number of employees, are involved in achieving legality and protecting self-management. Of course, the delegate assemblies and their executive bodies also have a large role in this, as do the bodies of management, and other self-managing bodies also have a duty to see that things are done correctly and lawfully.

In addition, it is certain that all the changes in organization, which are very frequent, are increasing the number, indeed considerably, of supervisory positions and staff personnel. The number of employees in the government administration is greater than in the administrative period, and the number of supervisory positions, including all those placed outside self-management decisionmaking, exceeds all the norms known in the science of labor and especially in the science of administration. At the same time a large number of self-managing communities of interest has come into being with a large number of employees (office staff, accounting and the like) and a particularly large number of supervisory personnel. Likewise, both in economic organizations and in other institutions and organizations, including sociopolitical organizations, there has been a constant swelling of the administrative "specialized" staff, especially those who stand outside self-management in their treatment, since others (not the bodies of self-management) determine their

personal income, read salary, solve their housing problem and usually make decisions on promotion and assignment at the end of the term to which they have been appointed. This is a phenomenon peculiar to our self-managing society, in which it is assumed that people are put on the same footing with respect to all political and economic rights. In that context we should mention that the recent reorganization, referred to as OUR-ization, has so greatly increased the number of supervisory personnel that there are many examples in which instead of two or three directors, there are now 20, 50, 100, or even more various directors and their deputies. Among others the large work organizations and banks are an example of this. Personnel policy is conducted by a small group of people (at least in most cases) whose purpose is to provide power and privileges to themselves and those like them and their friends. This has had the result that the same people are permanently fixed in these positions.

Consequently, the problem does not lie in the lack of regulations and institutions, but in the gap between the principles which have been set forth, the policy, the proclamations, and the regulations, on the one hand, and people's actual life, work and behavior on the other, which has led to various deformations in the system.

Because of all this we cannot boast of achieving constitutionality and legality either, especially in one period. Let us mention the well-known example--the right to work and "moral and political fitness." The constitutional basis for that condition exists only for judges of the ordinary courts (courts of general jurisdiction), but even then it is covered by the procedure for selection, without specific proof.

This notorious condition, which has been much criticized with good reason, was first introduced in the field of education. The feature contained in one law was rapidly carried over to many others (into more than 90 laws) and into numerous general self-management acts (that qualifying condition was for a time applied even to the cleaning woman). The untenability of this condition was pointed out many times from the standpoint of both law and morality, but it persisted for a long time (and exists even now in numerous general acts). To be sure, that condition has been dropped from the law, since among other things it conflicted with many international acts which our country has adopted, and that was harmful to our reputation. This is a textbook example of violation of constitutionality and legality. But unfortunately we have to say that certain courts of associated labor, and that the highest courts of this kind, and indeed even certain constitutional courts, have been perverse in their understanding and interpretation of this condition, as well as the fact that there have been attempts to reintroduce this condition in certain laws and to retain it in self-management regulations, where to a considerable extent it still exists, and arbitrariness of interpretation and various abuses are permitted.

Constitutionality and legality must be viewed as a whole, from the standpoint of the conformity of legal enactments to the established legal order, to its harmonious function, from the standpoint of equality of application of enactments to all citizens and other legal entities, and not, as some people

one-sidedly see it, according to the number of persons punished within the framework of criminal and other types of responsibility. Quite a few examples can be given of differing application of laws in our country, but we will mention only the investigation of the origin of property (it is well known that many people are overlooked and that the laws are applied to certain private craftsmen and tradesmen, pensioners, and so on), although various forms of unjustified enrichment, such as avoiding obligations to the public community, arbitrary appropriation of social property, group-ownership behavior, theft, speculation, and so on, have brought about large differences in property and irregularities.

#### The Upside-Down Conception of Responsibility

The meaning and essence of responsibility was quite well expressed long ago in the provisions of the General Bylaws of the International Workingmen's Association, in a phrase which Marx drafted at the time of establishing the First International, and it reads: "There is no right without duty, there is no duty without right."

This slogan of Marx's has been neglected for a long time, and indeed even negated, in our country. In many respects it has been conceived and applied in upside-down fashion. Many who have had (and now have) great authority, that is, rights, have not had duties as well (have not borne responsibility for their work and behavior). They have not been made accountable for various oversights, mistakes, abuses of power, privatization of social property and other unlawful acts which border on severe forms of crime, or, on the other hand, it all ended with the move to another position, sometimes one that is even more important. In addition, no one has borne responsibility for many major mistakes. In this context let us illustrate by mentioning that certain scientists in the field of economics say that our 1965 economic reform among other things caused property damage running to several thousand billion dinars. I do not know if this is true, but so far no one has denied it, and it was indispensable that a complete analysis be prepared following such major changes in the socioeconomic system and present it to all the people, since a very broad social action was given direction in that area. And then we know that for years large appropriations were made to the field of education (about 6 percent of the national income), that higher education was oversized and poorly directed, and that in that period tuition was collected from the workers for elementary education (the period 1958-1964), but no one was called to account even for that.

Even today responsibility is wrongly conceived and interpreted. In many discussions there are views which constitute deviations. For example, an equals sign is placed between collective work, decisionmaking, and responsibility--it is felt that all bear responsibility equally.

Responsibility today, in contemporary states, presupposes personal responsibility. This is the rule for application of all types of legal responsibility (for crimes, misdemeanors, and so on). As an exception, collective, so-called, joint responsibility is applied, and that mainly as political responsibility (recall, removal from office, and in our own country the dissolution



of the bodies of management in exceptional cases). As a rule collective responsibility is moral and political. Only in certain exceptional cases can legal responsibility be invoked: for example, criminal responsibility of the bodies of management, but even then the guilt is established separately.

Responsibility includes conscientious behavior and successful performance of tasks by the individual, and the entirety of achievement of social goals with respect to a collegial body or individual with large powers.

Insistence on the slogan "We are all responsible" consciously or unconsciously conceals, and indeed even negates, responsibility.

Viewed as a whole, responsibility has long been a problem of our society. It can be said with confidence that the problems which have accumulated, and they are not small (overindebtedness, unemployment, inflation, large differences in property and other differences, and so on) are mainly a product of irresponsibility. The virtual battle for official positions has come about because of irresponsibility. A large number of people would even agree to take the post of minister for nuclear physics (if such a position existed) although they knew not a thing about it. This kind of behavior, which has persisted for years, has aroused in many people apathy, aversion and passive resistance, which is also a particular kind of problem.

For all these reasons changes are indispensable in the fields of law and economics, and a revolution is needed in the field of morality--otherwise there can be no social progress. This presupposes taking the power away from many and selecting able people who also have moral attributes.

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PULA AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 83 pp 15-17

[Article by Mladen Paver: "Without Umbrellas or Gray Zone"]

[Text] Pressed down by daily concerns of some moment, perhaps we do not always reflect what it means today to have the kind of support we have in our system of nationwide defense and social self-protection. What it is really worth in the world of bloc alliances, in which the hegemonic pattern is not to pay too much heed to the interests of one's allies, much less the non-aligned and neutral countries unless they possess a corresponding defensive strength.

The system of defense and protection which we have built up in accordance with our own experiences and needs is indicative of Yugoslavs' desires for peace as well as our determination not to rely on anyone's "umbrella" and not to recognize any logic of "gray zones." At the end of the year which burdened the Mediterranean with new outbreaks of war and crises and Europe with an additional weapon for "limited" nuclear warfare--it is difficult to expect that pressures of precisely this kind will not get even stronger in the future.

"That country is secure which is defended by people," we have been reminded by the creator and strategist of our armed forces, an acknowledged advocate of indivisible peace in the contemporary world and the creator of the non-alignment movement.

On the eve of Armed Forces Day it is worthwhile to go back to some of Kardelj's assessments which he uttered when President Tito was awarded our first doctor's degree in the field of military science. On that occasion Kardelj included the strategy of the liberation war, in which development of a people's army and an integral system of revolutionary power of the people are constantly interwoven with one another, among the highest achievements of Tito's creative thought.

That was a strategy which continuously linked the operation of the shock military units to the operation of Partizan detachments, which were present everywhere in the mass of people--to their defender, political mobilizer and source of new fighters for the brigades and divisions.

## Efforts and Results

Enriched by the self-management process of socializing defensive preparations, that experience is living still in the present-day system of our defense. On practically every foot of Yugoslavia today there are organizations created and equipped with the worker's dinar and through the participation of individual citizens--who are capable of rallying around them the broadest forces of our defense and resistance. United and interconnected, this "Yugoslav defensive hedgehog" promises a situation with no prospects for any aggressor.

One of the communes in SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia in which such preparations have gone furthest in their breadth and organization is Pula Opstina. That assessment took us on the eve of YNA [Yugoslav People's Army] Day to the south of Istria.

This city and seaport with a population of 58,000, with another 20,000 or so in 200 villages and hamlets--that is a picture of the opstina according to the 1981 Census. Ethnically, 52 percent of the population are Croats, 7 percent Serbs, 4 percent Italians, and 17 percent declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs.

"The differing mentalities and cultural legacies have not hindered us from developing brotherhood and unity for decades without ethnic problems," our hosts said. "Industry, along with transportation, trade, tourism and construction, has created more than 24,000 jobs in the economy. Along with the social services and private production, there is a labor force of 33,000 in a population of 77,000. This year we expect a national income of some 15 billion new dinars. The strategic lines of development are the export industry (Pula exports \$3 for every \$1 it imports), tourism (inflow of foreign exchange!) and food production. Wherever it is profitable, Pula relies on the resources of the opstina (the beginnings of mariculture, eggs), and then it undertakes the pooling of capital within Istria (milk) or outside it (wheat--"Jasinje" of Slavonski Brod). The maritime orientation in the broadest sense of the word is typical of us, but now the emphasis is on nautical tourism.

But even in Pula there were 1,755 people looking for work as of 1 November. "We are more concerned because they include 1,013 young people, under age 25," said Emilio Vlacic, chairman of the Executive Council. "At the same time the economy is seeking more than 1,000 people, just with different qualifications. Another problem of ours is the highest rate of sick leave in Croatia and 487 million dinars in losses on the basis of the quarterly statement. I am convinced that this will not show up in the year-end statement, but the Chamber of Associated Labor yesterday decided to liquidate three work organizations because of disrupted human relations and poor discipline.

"Not because of our legal obligations, but out of our own income-motivated interest, we pay serious attention to nationwide defense and social self-protection," Vlacic continued. "We want to preserve peace and security, without fires, major thefts, disruptions of the peace; in the summertime we have as many as 50,000 guests per day. In addition to the self-management and

professional bodies and organizations, especially in the critical summer months, thousands of people volunteer to participate in protective actions in local communities, tourist facilities and other important places. For example, the expenditure for the 'cannon' of the professional firefighters was repaid to us in just one summertime fire which threatened the Perojska Forest. We are careful to keep pace with the development of our territorial defense and civil defense. We have had several exercises, reviews and inspections, more than were called for. We sweated, I do not mind telling you, but it is also gratifying when you see the results of those efforts."

#### Military Officers

Cvitko Kliba, opstina chief of staff, did not begin with the fact that Pula had managed to equip all territorial defense units with modern armament just as in the YPA. Only later were we to hear that all target practice had been conducted according to the program, and that the results were up to those in any unit of the YPA.

"I think that in choosing our officers we have hit upon the right people, people who are professionally and morally equal to their tasks," is the judgment of Frigate Captain Kliba. "These are only reserve commissioned officers, but through training they have created stalwart collectives, people who know one another extremely well. We have had great support in organizations of party members within units and staffs."

The chief of staff especially praised the initiative shown by his officers and men in their work:

"What can I tell you about the responsibility and independence of people (and they are all employed) who come into the staff a dozen times a month, who give up their weekends and other free time to prepare the training of their units, who have updated the organization of the warning system, who have inspected the arms warehouse and certain vehicles."

In Pula the territorial defense personnel themselves propose additional exercises to their staff. Without compensation: all they need, they say, is transportation and lunch! A majority of the officers have completed courses for the duty above the one they now have, which is another reason why they can direct their units independently and successfully on a mission.

An interesting thing about the training is that it has come as close as possible to actual missions which would be carried out in the most difficult situation by infantry, antiair, seaborne and special units of the Pula territorial defense. In the field they cooperate with the local community, with people who know every house, bush and hiding place in their area.

In the work organization and local community the training for territorial defense has been opened to all citizens from all communities. They can hear an assessment of the military and political-security situation, see films about weapons and exercises--so as to understand why their unit exists and what sort of missions it carries out.

"So that the comrade next to me understands that if I should not be carrying this gun, he will take it up," Kliba concludes.

#### Team 985

In the first telephone booth you enter here you will see a notice to call 985 if you are in personal danger or if there is a danger to the security of our society.

What do citizens report to this telephone number, which is attended from 0000 to 2400 hours?

"They seek emergency medical aid, a veterinarian, firefighters, teams to repair electrical, gas or water installations, the help of the police, the automobile and motorcycle association, and who knows what all else," said Bozidar Mezulic. "Our task is to process the call with the greatest urgency and to notify the right people. In all local communities we have two-way radios which can send us a call. They are operated by local people from age 7 to age 77. In the tourist season 99 percent of the reports of fires came into this telephone. A ham radio operator reported that a truck had turned over at Lobarika, and then Radio Zagreb notifies drivers about detours. We are notified by the port captaincy, the lighthouse operator, or fishermen who have noticed an oil slick at sea. They call us from the 'Brioni' Hotel: a sudden storm has blown an inexperienced tourist out on a board--and the marine police will pick him up with dispatch. We obviously cooperate with our neighbors: Rovinj, Cres, Losinj, and with services of the YPA."

"Often we receive completely private questions, especially from distant local communities: where cement can be found and the like. Our answer will at least save them gasoline, since it is 40 km to Sutivanac," explains Boris Funcic at telephone number 985. "Incidentally, it is those people who bought this equipment, they are creating our reporting service. I will receive 100 unofficial queries, but if the individual citizen senses our seriousness and communicativeness, the 101st piece of information will perhaps be of general importance. Like that tourist who found a torpedo while diving (dating back from the Austrian era). More and more of our taxi drivers are using the CB band, and during the season tourists use the popular '2 meters.' We also work with them, of course."

If some urgent notification needs to be made, and there is no telephone and the two-way radio is silent, team 985 will not give up; it will find a "round-about way." Branko Jaksa, a former bus driver, will ask a colleague from the old firm to carry the necessary message, someone else will find the postman, and still another will call "Uljanik" [shipyard and diesel engine factory] and ask a friend to carry the message to the rural area on his way home from work.

#### Enthusiasts

The organizers of an exercise gave the alarm at precisely the moment when people were on their way to work: How were they to get the information to them?

Nevertheless, they all assembled surprisingly quickly. Once again the "round-about ways" of Service 985 were effective.

Do you remember how last summer, a small boat was lost at sea with the lighthousekeeper Kardum, in the south wind and fog? For 2 days and nights everyone was fearful for his seriously ill child whom he had taken to the doctor. Team 985 coordinated the search by naval vessels, helicopters, the police, fishing boats, and local communities on the coast. It was happiest at the moment when it was able to send a physician to the rescue people at Liznjan.

A pair of Pula enthusiasts have made a particular contribution to the reliability and economic efficiency of this kind of organization of communications—which we usually value only when seconds become precious. Ante Rubil has been able to link the operation of some 250 active ham radio operators in Pula (with 100 or so short-wave and ultrashort-wave radios) and to pass on his experience from the armed forces, its standards. He rolled up his sleeves, he had been both a stonemason, a mechanic and an electronics technician—until he created a new communications center. He studied the experiences of the taxi drivers, postmen and bird hunters, led a unit on nighttime exercises, just to perfect its organization. He discovered Jordan Banko at "Uljanik," a highly skilled craftsman, now the author of an entire set of designs for an improved operational control panel in the reporting center. A prestigious industrial firm gave up on this task, but Banko soon got it in operation. At the price that was in effect 5 years ago.

National defense inspectorates have also given good marks to Pula civil defense. They emphasized the solid training which thousands of citizens go through, taking turns in annual sessions at the request of work organizations, the opstina staff and local communities. Here they gain and broaden their knowledge of first aid, firefighting and atomic, biological and chemical protection, and of rescuing people from ruins and at sea.

The center for this training has been developed in the Worker University. It has recruited engineers, physicians, veterinarians, YPA officers on active duty, and teachers. Training is administered by the center's council, which includes representatives of sociopolitical and work organizations, along with the specialized administrative organs.

"Our training has received good marks first from the officers of our units when they returned from courses for specialists in Rijeka and Zagreb," said Cvitko Macuka, chief of Pula civil defense. "They say that they received a solid foundation here, since in practice they have been dealing with the overall problems. Command-staff drills have contributed to better cooperation of administrative agencies on those tasks and have eliminated initial deficiencies. There was also the most direct preparation for a "hot summer" test, when fires threatened even the south of Istria.

#### New Experiences

That danger aroused sociopolitical organizations all over the opstina and mobilized civil defense on a large scale in a preventive effort. The watchful

eyes of its patrols and rapid reporting localized the numerous fires at the very outset. How else could the professional firefighters themselves have handled it when they broke out at five distant places at one moment? As a rule the civil defense patrols did not even report the smaller fires, but extinguished them themselves at Divsici, Sajini and in other local communities.

Macuka does not embellish things:

"There were misunderstandings, and some people even withdrew. Nevertheless, this mobilization did not cost us more than 3 million. The expenditure was in part covered by work organizations themselves, and the remainder was met from the opstina budget. In any case, it gave us an important education. We are entering the coming year with important experience in prevention and operation."

Winter here is only a pause filled with extensive preparations: making fire-breaks and forest roads for the access of fire engines. Priorities have been agreed on--the foresters, the land records people, the construction committee, postal, telegraph and telephone service, the water department, and law enforcement agencies are involved in the effort....

Although Pula is not one of the poor opstinas, it bites every dinar even concerning defense preparations. It is not stingy, but it is a good manager.

"Fully outfitted specialized work organizations in construction, maritime shipping, agriculture and health care make up the nucleus of opstina civil defense units," Macuka explains. "We are trying to adapt their equipment in the most optimum way to tasks which are out of the ordinary. Thus we are adjusting tractors and tank trucks, tugboats and vessels already on inventory, whose crews are well trained for cooperation with scuba divers from the Pula club. Pula also has a well-trained team for deactivating explosives. This year alone they went out on some 30 calls from individuals and destroyed hand grenades, torpedoes and magnetic mines which had been discovered."

"Were we to rely solely on the dinar, and not also on voluntary civic work, preparations for defense and protection would have an uncertain foundation," we were told by Ivan Ceh, Petar Kapor, Berto Kraljic and Josipa Spasic, activists from the "A. Butorac" Local Community. "At every step we need to achieve a better result with the same resources through more self-organization. Do we need voluntary training of young people exclusively by sending them to camp, which is expensive? What are the results from these seminars with a high registration fee? It is quite certain that they do not lead to authentic socialization of defense preparations. And in some other area we need a voluntary effort to prevent commercialization of preparations for defense and protection. The Coordinating Committee of the Croatian SAWP in the opstina in fact has that on its agenda."

#### Underground

Pula is one of the very few Yugoslav cities which in a time of trouble could shelter practically its entire population underground, in prepared civil

defense shelters. Only in part can this be attributed to the "legacy" of the old naval port--but still more to the consistent policy of the opstina, to investors in public and private construction. And the next GUP [(?) master land use plan] rigorously requires all up-to-date experience and safety standards for future settlements.

Pula has also gone quite far in supplying complete personal civil defense kits to individuals. The national defense council has already taken up an interesting proposal for furnishing them to those who need them most--pensioners and disabled persons and their families. They believe that it would be best to establish credit from the opstina fund for defense preparations.

Pula has an abundance of diverse experiences in defense preparations in the schools, in the policy of creating commodity stockpiles, in the practice of self-managing communities of interest for housing and municipal services and (soon) for fire protection as well. Yet there is one experience that is worth taking note of.

"At one time the financing of defense preparations in the opstina was decided on by the administrative agencies for all practical purposes," says Mirko Radolovic, opstina secretary for national defense. "Greater social influence on those resources was guaranteed by the signing of the self-management accord under which 0.4 percent of income is set aside for defense purposes in the opstina. Work organizations retain 40 percent of this, and decisions about the remainder are made by the assembly of the fund, delegates from those very places which are appropriating these dinars. Believe me, anyone who is counting on those resources now must really sweat for them. The assembly sends its reports to the workers' councils--it is before them that we must justify having found the right measure in meeting various needs, must explain why those for whom some course was paid did not complete it successfully, and so on. Of course, even here we have our problems. Inflation is gobbling up the money of the fund, the inflow is slim from those places where resources are in any case scanty. With more understanding--and one always gets this from the workers, if one is frank in making the case concerning the problems--we will find the key even to that lock."

"In a time of trouble we would work on the same tasks," we were told by the most responsible people in the command of the YPA garrison.

Thanks to the practice of mutual notification and exchange of experience between the garrison and the opstina and to the activity of active YPA officers in defense preparations of work organizations, settlements, athletic and technical clubs, they are well aware how much that praise is deserved.

"Numerous political and economic leaders of the city head the wartime units, which are mainly made up of reservists," the soldiers say. "The opstina's organization of the LC actively participates in analysis of the morale and political situation of these military formations. We would like to especially emphasize the everyday coordination between the armed forces and Pula in protecting this part of the coastal border--the Pula fishermen, young people, and the opstina authorities. This is achieved only when our feelings and thoughts are the same."



Our hosts would be a shade more restrained in evaluating themselves. Not out of false modesty. Simply because they see defense preparations as a never-ending obligation.

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## BRIEFS

PARISH PRIEST SENTENCED--On 1 December 1983 the Metkovic Opstina magistrates court judge sentenced the parish priest Filip Pavic to 50 days in prison. The district public prosecutor of Split charged him with violating Article 23, Point 1, sub-point 2 of the Law Regarding the Legal Position of Religious Communities by permitting, as editor of the parish paper, the following text to be printed in the No 18 issue under the title "Our New Saint": "Pray to St Leopold Bogdan Mandic, together with all Croatian saints, for our parish, for our entire people that they do not become dominated by the plague of theoretical and practical materialism." The judge said that this passage, in opposition to constitutional and legal regulations, exposes to ridicule, in a gross manner, the socialist sociopolitical system which is based on the principles of a Marxist-materialist view of the world, and [the passage] is based on opposition to be spreading of such a system. Pavic has appealed to the republic magistrates council in Zagreb. [Excerpt] [Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 83 p 14]

STUDENT CHARGED FOR 'FALSE REPORT'--On 7 November the Sinj opstina magistrates court judge sentenced Andjelka Jagnjic to 15 days in prison because she "spread false reports about the 'appearance of the Virgin' in the town of Gala on 3, 4, and 5 September 1983." As a result of this, the judge said, 2,000-3,000 believers gathered in this place whom she then 'directed' to pray. She was charged under Article 13 of the Law on Violating Public Law and Order. [Excerpt] [Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 83 p 9]

DELINQUENTS ATTACK CHURCH--On 20 November a group of five delinquents disrupted a wedding ceremony in the parish church in Nova Maala in Macedonia by cursing and throwing beer bottles in front of the altar. They physically opposed efforts by the priest to make them leave. Afterward they broke into the priest's residence, insulting him, calling him an Ustashe and Albanian hireling, throwing books around the office, attacking the priest, insulting the nuns, and damaging the facade of the nunnery. The same delinquents have disrupted religious services several times up to now but have not been prosecuted by the SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs). [Excerpt] [Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 83 p 15]